

THE

# MIDDLE EAST

*Journal*

SUMMER • 1960

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Vol. 14, No. 3

\$1.50



THE MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Published quarterly by The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C. Subscription price, 1 year, \$6.00; 2 years \$11.00. Single copies, \$1.50. No additional charge for postage to United States and APO addresses. Add \$.50 for foreign mailing. Mail all communications to THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, 1761 N St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Washington, D. C. Additional entry at Post Office of Baltimore, Md.

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# THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL

VOLUME 14

SUMMER, 1960

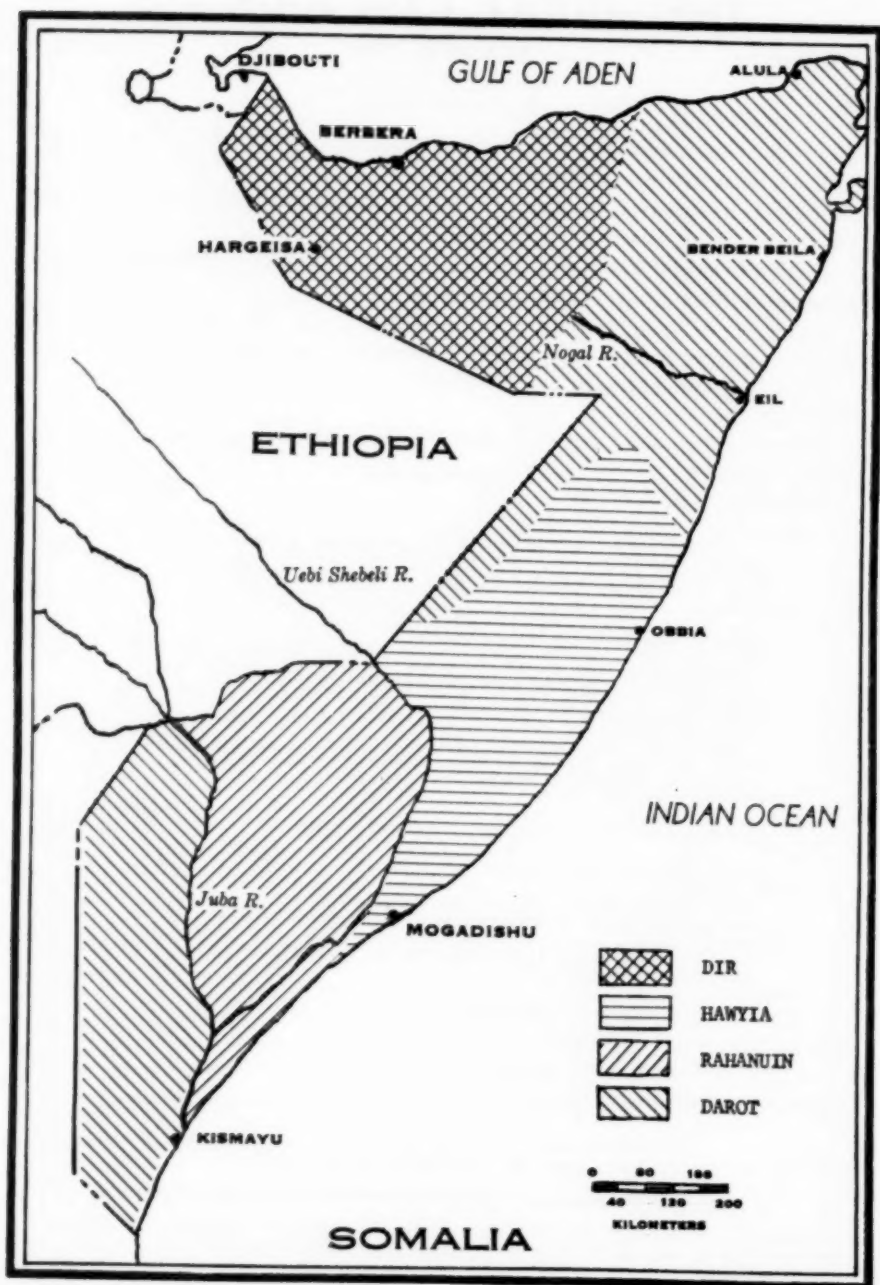
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THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL is indexed in *International Index  
to Periodicals and Public Affairs Information Service*

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THE

# MIDDLE EAST *Journal*

VOLUME 14

SUMMER 1960

NUMBER 3

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## SOMALIA: THE PROBLEMS OF INDEPENDENCE

*Anthony S. Reyner*

ON JULY 1, 1960, after more than seventy years of European domination, Somalia became an independent country.\* The name will not be new: it has been used as short designation of the former Italian colony since it became, on December 2, 1950, "The United Nations Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian Administration."

On November 9, 1959, Italy petitioned that the date of Somalia's independence be advanced from December 2 to July 1, 1960. This action aroused misgivings in the United Nations, because information on the Trust Territory was generally discouraging. Widespread poverty and illiteracy, continued tribal and boundary disputes, limited and poorly developed resources—all these intensified concern over competition for political influence in Somalia's future. However, on December 5, 1959, the General Assembly found a politic solution to this aggregate of economic problems: it complied with the Italian request.

### *The Past*

Italian rule began in 1889, by protectorate over the Sultanates of Obbia and the Midjertein. Later that year, sublease of the Benadir Coast from the British East Africa Company extended the Italian protectorate southward into

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\* The present article was completed before the former British Somaliland Protectorate, independent for five days, merged with Somalia into the new Republic of Somalia, which occupies some 246,000 square miles.

◇ ANTHONY S. REYNER is head of the Department of Geography at Howard University and, for several years, has been consultant on international boundaries to the Department of State.

Zanzibar territory. By 1895 Italy acquired full title to the Benadir ports of Warchaik, Mogadishu, Merca and Brava, each with a hinterland from six to ten miles deep.

Following an Ethiopian cession of territory in 1908, Italy proclaimed southern Somalia a crown colony in 1910. Later, the "three-year trial agreement" with Great Britain led to Italian acquisition of Trans-Jubaland in 1924. Mussolini pacified and annexed the insurgent northern protectorates of Obbia and the Midjertein in 1927. While the 1935 invasion of Ethiopia was successful, the Italian invasion of British Somaliland in June, 1940 backfired. United Kingdom forces occupied Italian Somaliland, which remained under British administration, military and later civilian, from February 1941 through March 1950.

The Paris Peace Treaty of February 10, 1947 divested Italy of all colonies. Since the Big Four could not agree on how to "dispose of them in the light of the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants," on September 15, 1948, the Council of Foreign Ministers submitted the matter to the United Nations. Five weeks later, the General Assembly placed the former Italian Somaliland under trusteeship for ten years.

Italy, not as yet a member nation, was selected as the Administering Authority. An Advisory Council composed of representatives from Columbia, Egypt and the Philippines were to guide Italy in preparing Somalia for independence. Italy assumed provisional administration on February 22, and took over final authority from the United Kingdom on April 1, 1950. After the vote of the United Nations General Assembly, some eight months later, Italy's ten-year period of trusteeship officially began.

### *The Land*

Somalia occupies approximately 178,000 square miles on the Eastern Horn of Africa. It is comparable in area, though not in population, to that of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi combined. Bounded by the Gulf of Aden to the north, Somalia stretches from the easternmost point of Africa, Cape Guardafui, for 1,180 miles southwestward along the Indian Ocean to Ras Chiambone (or Dick's Head), and varies from 90 to some 200 miles in width. British Somaliland, Ethiopia and Kenya are its neighbors. Boundaries with British territories are definitive; no early settlement is foreseen for the provisional line with Ethiopia.

The country's two main rivers, the Webi Shebeli and the Juba, rise in the Ethiopian highlands. The Shebeli, however, never gets as far as the sea; it disappears in malarial swamps before reaching the Indian Ocean. Most arable lands lie along these two streams and, around Baidoa, where industrious Somali smallholders practice dry farming rather efficiently whenever the low and erratic rainfall permits.

Four major regions of distinct economic importance make up Somalia:

(1) the Midjertein, (2) Mudugh, (3) Central Somalia and (4) Trans-Jubaland.

From the narrow sandy plain along the northeastern coast rise the limestone plateaus of the Midjertein, up to 7,200 feet in the barren mountains of the interior. Unsuitable for agriculture, this dry and rugged section is sparsely populated by nomadic goat, sheep and camel herders who supplement their meager livelihood by collecting myrrh and incense, and by fishing along the coast. In this sector, salt production is a definite possibility.

Behind an extremely dry coastal belt, and across the intermittent, though at times torrential, Nogal river, the Mudugh Plateau reaches some 2,000 feet in elevation. Similar in occupance to the Midjertein, some day the Mudugh may justify the high hopes of Somalia, as well as those of the Sinclair and Standard Vacuum Oil prospectors, but of this prospect there is so far no evidence. To the south, barely adequate precipitation occasionally permits the semi-nomadic pastoralists to grow durra, a kind of millet sometimes called Kaffir corn, and beans.

Central Somalia, between the Webi Shebeli and the Juba, is rather flat. Small settlements exist among the many infertile tracts, where only seasonal grazing is possible. However, where the alluvial soils retain enough water, there is extensive cultivation along the lower reaches of the two rivers. Subsistence farmers with their crude equipment usually till the bottom lands which are subject to flooding. On adjacent higher ground reasonably successful Italian concessionnaires use machinery in growing corn, sugar cane, bananas and cotton.

Along the Juba, rainfall is generally adequate, but in many places artificial irrigation is imperative. However, fluctuations of water level and scarcity of natural dam sites limit extension of irrigation. The Shebeli goes dry from November to April. At other times, its flow is so slight, and water so brackish that it cannot be used for irrigation.

Some thirty species of fish have been identified in the rivers of central Somalia, though none in commercial quantities. Large and deadly reptiles infest the river banks and marshes, where rhinoceros and hippopotamus are no rarity. When there is enough water, the elephant migrates inland through the thick brush, the fringe of which is the home of gazelles and giraffes, buffalos and zebras, as well as numerous birds. Termites abound throughout the country, and lynx and leopard roam in the interior.

The richer flora and fauna of southern Somalia across the Juba correspond to almost adequate rainfall. Some years ago, population pressure and overgrazing in the north attracted parts of northern tribes and their stock to this region. Here all "prospered" and increased in numbers to the extent that water supply has now become a problem. Exploitation of the mangrove forests has attained local importance along the southern coast.

The Somali coast has no really good harbors. A few indentations occur

in the unproductive sections north of Obbia, but south of it coral reefs make navigation extremely difficult at all times, and virtually impossible between June and September, when the southwest monsoon blows.

The absence of railways and the poor condition of the 6,533 miles of "roads and trails" hinder overland transportation. In 1958, only 248 out of the 374 miles of surfaced roads could be used by motor vehicles. Even this limited mileage was so badly in need of repair that sections of the main coastal highway between Mogadishu, the capital and principal port, Merca, Brava and Chisimaio were frequently impassable during the light, intermittent rains.

Temperatures average from 60°F in the early morning on the plateau to 110°F in the afternoon along the coast. From practically nothing along the Gulf of Aden in the north, rainfall reaches exceptional maxima of less than thirty inches along the southern coast. Inland, hardly four inches fall in wetter years.

Monsoons dominate the climate of Somalia. The northeast monsoon blows from December to March; its southwestern counterpart prevails from June to September. The intervening months are periods of feebler and variable winds—as well as of locust invasions.

*GM*, the season of heaviest rains and principal planting time, coincides with the change of monsoons and extends from April through June. Rains then decrease and become intermittent along the coast during *Hagai*, the season of the southwest monsoon. By the end of September, *Der* begins. If local rains are sufficient, pastures remain green until December, and durra is cultivated. Then comes *Gilat*, the dry season of the northeast monsoon.

Temperatures rise, trees shed their leaves, farming ceases, and grasses—as well as most waterholes—go dry. Some droughts have persisted over three years, and longer. Needless to say, the results were disastrous, particularly in the north.

### *The People*

Where the Somalis came from, or who they actually are, is difficult to tell with any reasonable degree of certainty. They are a Semitic group, possibly from southern Arabia, inter-married with Hamites. Though generally darker and taller, many Somalis resemble the Gallas in appearance. The unwritten Somali is a Hamitic language akin to Galla, with a strong Arabic admixture. Italian and Arabic are the trade languages along the coast. Swahili is spoken in the south. The outcast Midgans and Yibirs have "secret" languages of their own.

Sunni Islam is strictly observed, particularly during Ramadan. Islam came to Somalia more than 650 years ago, when the Arab Shaykhs Darot and Serhah converted their pagan Somali wives. Descendants of these unions are reported to have driven non-believers into the interior, where those who survived turned Muslim.

At the end of 1958, Somalia had approximately 1,300,000 inhabitants. Fewer than 34,000 were non-Somalis. Most of the 2,311 Italians were either colonists, or officials living in cities, where about 30,000 Arabs together with some 1,200 Indians and Pakistanis monopolized the trade. More than 70 per cent of the Somalis were nomadic, and hardly ten per cent urban. The remaining 90,000 were the southern agriculturists intermixed with Gallas or the original Bantu occupants of this region.

Today, the Darot, Hawyia and other tribes, comprising roughly one half of the population, exceed 650,000 in number. They are pastoralists, although some Darots have taken up agriculture recently. As a rule, farmers are looked down upon by the herders, for stock ownership carries social prestige. Unfortunately, quality is too often disregarded in favor of quantity. More than 350,000 Sab, composed of the Dighil and Rahanuin groups, farm in the area between the two principal rivers and east of the Shebeli.

Large numbers, however, are almost meaningless because the several tribal chiefs, some hereditary, others elective, have little actual power. The important functional unit is the *rer*, a group of families which pays and receives compensation for acts by or against its members. Undoubtedly, they will play a significant role in the political development of modern Somalia.

The social pattern, based on occupation and to some extent on color, remained rather simple and undisturbed for a long time. Artisans shared the lowest standing with the farmers, while tribal herdsmen basked at the top. Then Italians gave agriculture new stature, and their centralized administration introduced the unheard-of class of wage earners. Later, wars of unprecedented scale extended the Somali horizon far beyond the country's immediate limited environment. In the light of all these events, it is not altogether surprising that a desire for higher educational and economic standards have accompanied the demand for independence.

The movement crystallized under British occupation in 1943 into the Somali Youth League. It was radically anti-Italian and advocated creation of an independent Greater Somali which would unite the three Somalilands, as well as adjacent parts of Ethiopia and Kenya. On the other hand, the more temperate "Conferenza," while fundamentally nationalistic, was rather pro-Italian. It was a coalition of eight parties with local, prevalently agricultural interests.

### *Government and Politics*

The number of political parties increased to twenty-two in 1954. Ardent interest in politics continued through 1956, when more votes were cast than there were qualified voters. By 1958, when the number of parties had decreased to five, the Somali Youth League won 83 out of 90 seats in the new Legislative Assembly, largely owing to squabbles among the opposition parties.

The Greater Somalia League, the moderate wing of the Youth League until 1958, showed local strength in the Midjertein and Lower Juba. *Hisbia Digbil Mirifle*, the Sab faction of the now defunct Conferenza, changed its name to the Somalia Independent Constitutional Party, and continued as the largest opposition party representing agricultural interests. The other opposition parties were the Liberal Somali Youth Party and the Somali National Union. Both had strongholds in the urban areas along the Benadir Coast.

One would hope that economic necessity would make the petty political differences disappear. However, to date the idea of a responsible government able to supply the many essential services expected of a modern state seems to preoccupy fewer politicians than sterile issues of local rather than national scope. An almost universal belief prevails that, when Italy leaves, the serious economic handicaps which face independent Somalia will be overcome by financial rather than technical assistance from some other outside sources.

### *The Economy*

The Italian Trust Administration (AFIS) was fortunate in receiving an approximately \$10,000,000 annual subsidy from abroad to cover the chronic budget deficit. This deficit is liable to increase during the first years following independence of Somalia. Revenues from indirect taxation, graduated income tax, or the flat twenty per cent tax on company profits have remained consistently inadequate, and are likely to continue so.

Some day, petroleum may become the economic salvation of Somalia; however, so far, none has been struck. If and when some oil is found, it will take a long time to develop. With the exception of fair amounts of gypsum, which is available elsewhere with a lesser effort, there are no other minerals of economic significance.

Faced with the Herculean task of preparing its former colony for independence, Italy turned first to the human, and then to the natural resources of Somalia. Repair and reconstruction of whatever World War II had left of the meager transportation, education and administrative facilities took almost four years before the seven-year plan for economic development could be embarked upon.

In the meantime, Italy centered its attention on education. With UNESCO assistance, it initiated a fundamental education program in 1952. To date, only moderate results have been achieved among the sedentary population. Education of the nomads failed partly due to lack of interest among the prospective students, and partly due to lack of administrative support.

On the secondary level hardly one-fourth of the pupils completed the course. In the only public school at Mogadishu, inadequate accommodations for students (if they were willing and able to come) further aggravated the unsatisfactory situation. Graduates preferred the relatively better paid government clerical positions to teaching. Teacher shortage had to be alleviated



by importations from Italy or Egypt, which in turn led to language and other problems.

Somali is rather a uniform tongue with relatively minor dialectal differences. Since it has not yet been reduced to a definite written form, Somali could be used only orally on the most elementary level. In spite of the general prevalence of Islam, there has been a little enthusiasm to write Somali in modified Arabic, as in Latin characters. At the same time Osmanya, the Darot tribal script, was rejected outright for political reasons.

Higher education would seem to have fared somewhat better, thanks mainly to the generous cooperation of the University of Rome. But even in this sector results were moderate at best. The scholarship program in Somalia and abroad has fallen short of expectations. It was hoped that by 1960 Somalia would have an educated élite. One thousand may not have been enough to run a newly independent country. However, some of those who became educated preferred material rewards and comfort abroad to challenging arduous tasks at home; others reportedly came back with rather limited competence.

Shortage of trained domestic personnel, shortage of funds, and environmental conditions also hinder improvements in subsistence agriculture and stock-raising. At this time, considerably less than ten per cent of Somalia is cultivated. It is rather doubtful that much more cultivable acreage will be gained under the various water conservation and agricultural demonstration projects initiated by the Trust Administration with foreign help.

Commercial growing of bananas provides Somalia's main cash income. It survives only because of preferential treatment by Italy, who promised to continue its export subsidy through 1965, and possibly longer. Otherwise, the banana acreage would have to be reduced drastically to satisfy local market requirements only. At this date, bananas represent close to two-thirds of export values. Compared to areas which grow a similar drought-resistant variety (Portuguese or Canaries type), Somali production and transportation costs are too high to compete without tariff protection. In preparation for independence, a Somali banana cooperative was created to succeed a heretofore strictly Italian enterprise.

Sugar cane cultivation, until recently a virtual monopoly of the Italo-Somalian Agricultural Company (SAIS), has been rather successful. Yield per acre is fairly high, but relative natural sweetness is below the African average. Recent production of 1,000 metric tons of refined sugar can be termed a major achievement. Until 1956, Somalia imported sugar; now, it exports a little to its neighbors and to Italy.

Cotton growing is another agricultural activity which is passing from Italian into Somali hands. The quality and length of the lint are commercial, but Somalia is far from being an ideal cotton country. When pests do not intervene, cotton grows sporadically under rain-fed conditions, and market fluctuations greatly affect the irrigated acreage planted.



In 1957, for the first time in the history of Somalia, grain production exceeded domestic needs, and a little durra and corn were exported. Other significant crops are sesame, cassava, peanuts and beans. However, in areas of subsistence farming, infertile soils and erratic rainfall, pests and diseases, poor seed and primitive methods, all conspire to give low and varying yields. It should be added that northern Somalia is the world's principal source of incense, the revenue from which has increased in recent years.

Livestock, ranging from camels to sheep according to region is the mainstay of Somalia's domestic economy. In 1958, Somalia reported approximately 1,200,000 head of cattle, 1,100,000 camels, some 2,000,000 goats and 8,000,000 sheep.

Cattle are mostly of Zebu breeds, able to withstand the severity of environment and nomadic conditions. These environmental factors also explain the large numbers of camels and goats. If large herds were not kept for prestige, cattle could become an economic asset—instead of an added strain on the limited pasturage and water supply, and a major source of fierce, never-ending, inter-tribal disputes.

The Trust Administration, in an effort to improve the quality of cattle and stabilize stock-raising, has employed foreign experts to expand the network of wells, and to offer free veterinary service. It is impossible to predict how these services will be maintained when Italy leaves, but stock-raising has undergone a definite change.

Formerly, the herdsmen killed cattle because of dire need or on very special occasions only. Now, some regularly sell a few head to a small slaughterhouse which packs meat into imported containers. In 1958, cattle decreased by 35,000, camels by 15,000, and goats by ten times this number. No figures were available on sheep slaughtered or wool sheared.

In connection with its efforts to reduce the numbers of livestock, AFIS also encouraged improvements in preparing hides and skins for export. However, in this field the results were as discouraging as in the governmental efforts to promote manufacturing. Industrial production remained low. During 1958, processing of local products mainly for the restricted local market offered steady employment to fewer than 5,000 Somalis and only 200 Italians, whose number is likely to decrease in the near future.

One notable exception is the SAIS installation, located some 100 miles inland from Mogadishu. In addition to sugar refining and distilling, it operates a cotton ginnery, oil-seed crushing plant and a soap factory. Among its 1,500 permanent employees are many women. SAIS operations usually account for one-half of the gross value of Somalia's industrial output.

Recent news from the second most important industry, the textile plant, has been most discouraging. Almost every year its hundred looms produced more than 1,500,000 yards of grey cotton sheeting. The mill expects to discontinue operation—in spite of tariff protection. Production costs cannot

meet Japanese and Indian competition on the domestic market. However, the future of the banana-leaf rope factory in Merca, and that of the small-scale local handcraft, weaving of the gay, multicolored "Futa Benadir" seems to be fairly certain.

If it were not for preferential treatment on the Italian market, the small northern fish-canning operations and mother-of-pearl trade would have to cease. The catch has been quite variable in recent years, possibly due to over-fishing and the presence of carnivorous species. Furthermore, problems have arisen in preserving the catch during the constantly high temperatures. Refrigeration has been rather deficient.

Inadequate industrialization accounts for low power requirements. Cost of electricity made from imported oil is extremely high. In 1958, it amounted to more than 15 cents per KW/hour to industrial users in the capital area.

### *The Outlook*

Independent Somalia presents a distressing picture. Its economic and commercial potential is bound to remain low because none of the known resources can be developed quickly and easily. Plans to convert the nomad to sedentary farming have failed. Stock remains the best hope for long range development, if human factors permit. Rather recently, in face of the general shortage of water, instances have been reported of one tribe destroying an unguarded well rather than letting another tribe use it.

Substantial intensification of farm production beyond the present artificially irrigated areas is unlikely. The reason is too obvious to discuss: there is no money. A loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is out of the question, for the time being at least. Outright grants seem to be the only answer to Somalia's plight, even though financial rather than technical assistance is preferred.

For a few years after independence annual subsidies will come from the United States via Italy under the Somalia Development Fund Agreement. It is to be hoped that their use may be more important than their amount. Participation in the European Common Market may bring to Somalia additional income, though hardly any permanent large-scale foreign investment.

At the same time, any reduction in subsidies to independent Somalia will necessarily lower the present standards of administrative, educational and social services. The union with British Somaliland will hardly improve the economic situation. Instead of adding to the common resources, it is likely to deteriorate political relations with neighboring Ethiopia, which are already strained. This tension may present the Iron Curtain countries with an opportunity to offer assistance—and to expand their foothold on the African continent. Also, the United Arab Republic may use the situation to strengthen its influence along the Muslim Somali coast.

# CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES OF MIDDLE EASTERN STUDENTS IN AMERICA

F. James Davis

This study had the same general aim as those sponsored by the Committee on Cross-Cultural Education of the Social Science Research Council, to explore cultural contact as experienced by foreign students in America.<sup>1</sup> The subjects were Middle Eastern students at the Universities of Minnesota and Michigan, and the major purpose was to elicit their views of American life. Increasing numbers of students are coming to the United States from the Middle East,<sup>2</sup> defined in this study as including Turkey, Iran, the United Arab Republic, the countries of the Fertile Crescent and the Arabian Peninsula.

## *The Pilot Study*

To explore the American experience of a small number of Middle Eastern students in some depth, a pilot interview study was made at the University of Minnesota during the first months of 1958. The sample was selected from the 51 men and six women listed in the University's foreign student directory as residents of nine Middle Eastern countries.<sup>3</sup> Eighteen were successfully interviewed.

An interview guide gave the conversations a common structure, but most

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1. The Univ. of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, has published four of these reports: Ralph L. Beals and Norman D. Humphrey, *No Frontier to Learning*, 1957; John W. Bennett, Herbert Passin, and Robert K. McKnight, *In Search of Identity: The Japanese Overseas Scholar in America and Japan*, 1958; Richard D. Lambert and Marvin Bressler, *Indian Students on an American Campus*, 1956; Franklin D. Scott, *The American Experience of Swedish Students*, 1956.

2. During the 1959-60 school year there were 6,619 students in the US from the Middle East, more for the first time than from Europe. See the American Council on Education *Bulletin on Higher Education and National Affairs*, Vol. VIII, No. 22, pp. 3-4; and the Institute of International Education, *Open Doors* 1959.

3. Office of the Dean of Students, Foreign Student Adviser, *Directory of Nationals of Other Countries Affiliated with the University of Minnesota*, Fall Quarter, Nov. 1, 1957. A 50% sample was taken, 21 being chosen by proportional, stratified random sampling by native country and sex, while eight were deliberately chosen on the recommendation of the Foreign Student Adviser as students who were communicative, insightful, or recognized leaders of their groups.

◇ F. JAMES DAVIS is Head of the Department of Sociology, Hamlin University. The article was originally presented as a paper at the April, 1960 meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society in St. Louis, Missouri. Student assistants David Roberts, Naomi Martin and Peter Douglas are thanked for careful work on this study. The author is also grateful to Forrest G. Moore and James M. Davis, advisers of foreign students at the Universities of Minnesota and Michigan respectively, for their help.

of the questions were open-end.<sup>4</sup> Generally the interviewees were cooperative, and some demonstrated the famous Middle Eastern hospitality by offering figs, coffee, or yogurt to the interviewers. The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to four hours, the median length being an hour and one-half. Notes were made on the interview guides, and reports typed as soon after as possible. The results were coded, tabulated, and used in the formulation of hypotheses and questionnaire items.

#### HYPOTHESES

The interview findings were stated as general hypotheses to be tested by the questionnaire. They were:

1. Middle Eastern students experience some surprises upon contact with American life.
2. Middle Eastern students have favorable views of some aspects of American life and unfavorable views of others, (a) as to some general characteristics of American life, (b) with regard to education in general and higher education in particular, and (c) as to marriage and family life.
3. Middle Eastern students in America experience problems of cultural contact.
4. There are differences in cultural perspective among Middle Eastern students in America by sex, marital status, native country, field of study, and length of time spent in the United States.

#### THE QUESTIONNAIRE PRE-TEST

The pre-test draft of the questionnaire consisted mainly of statements based on the results of the pilot interviews. It was mailed to half of the Middle Eastern students at the University of Minnesota, those who had not been solicited for interviews. The returns were checked for indications of ambiguity,<sup>5</sup> and appropriate revisions made. The pre-test results were very similar to those of the final questionnaire, but they have not been included in the findings reported here.

#### *The Final Sample*

After unsuccessful attempts to get a satisfactory list of all the Middle Eastern students in the United States, it was decided that the questionnaire would be sent to the University of Michigan, which has a comparatively large

4. Many of the items were adapted from the study of students from India by Lambert and Bressler, *op. cit.*

5. See Wm. J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952, pp. 157-61. Fourteen of the 28 questionnaires were completed and returned. No tests were made of the reliability of the final questionnaire, but there were few omitted items or other indications of ambiguity.

number of students from the area. The Michigan directory then current listed 196 students from the Middle East,<sup>6</sup> as defined in this study. Except for four whose addresses were not given, the questionnaire was mailed directly to all of these students in April, 1958.<sup>7</sup> Nearly one-half, a total of 93, completed and returned the questionnaire. The respondents represented seven countries, distributed as follows:

Turkey .....	36
Egyptian Region of UAR .....	16
Iran .....	12
Iraq .....	10
Israel .....	7
Jordan .....	6
Lebanon .....	6

Just under half of the Michigan students from three of the countries replied, very close to proportional representation. Turkey was somewhat under-represented, with about 41%. Israel was only slightly over-represented, but six of the eight Lebanese and six of the seven Jordanese students responded. As to sex, women were somewhat under-represented. Eighty-six of 174 men replied while seven of 22 women did so.

Two-thirds of the respondents were unmarried. Nearly two-thirds were graduate students, with about equal numbers in pursuit of the Master's degree and the Ph. D. About three-fifths were studying engineering, broadly defined. The length of experience in America varied from less than a year (for 19) to more than five years (for 11), nearly two-thirds having been here for less than three years. On these characteristics the respondents are not necessarily representative of all the Middle Eastern students at the University of Michigan, or in the entire United States.<sup>8</sup>

#### *Initial Reactions*

The final questionnaire consisted mainly of statements like those in Table 1, to which the student responded by checking "Yes," "Undecided" or "No." Nearly one-third agreed that, "I have come to realize that American friendliness and hospitality are superficial;" while about one-third were undecided and one-third disagreed. The Minnesota interviews earlier had shown lack of consensus and ambivalence about this, varying from assertions that

6. University of Michigan International Center, *Directory of Students, Visiting Faculty Members, and Research Scholars From Other Lands*, Second Semester, Ann Arbor, 1957.

7. The covering letter explained that the Director of the University International Center was cooperating, that the sample was taken from the Directory, that anonymity was guaranteed, that Middle Eastern students at Minnesota had already cooperated, and the brochure describing the four-college course on the Middle East was enclosed.

8. No study was made of the reasons for non-return.

Americans are friendly, open and helpful, to statements that they are impersonal, materialistic and superficial.

Table 1 supports the hypothesis that Middle Eastern students experience feelings of surprise when they see American life firsthand. Almost four-fifths agreed that they had been surprised by the amount of religious activity. This reaction had been expressed in several of the interviews. One Turkish graduate student at Minnesota explained that he was surprised at the large number of churches, the amount of space given to church affairs in newspapers, the importance of church activities in daily life, and the sectarian divisions of Christianity.

Nearly three-fifths of the Michigan group agreed that they were surprised at the amount of racial discrimination in the United States. A Turkish interviewee at Minnesota said he was completely unprepared when he first saw "White" and "Colored" signs (in Lexington, Kentucky), that it seemed like a shocking denial of the democratic creed. A Jordanian student expressed the shock he felt when he was denied the chance to look at an apartment because he had a student from India with him.

The Michigan students were about equally divided on the question of whether or not the high level of living enjoyed by Americans was a surprise to them.<sup>9</sup> While the majority indicated that they were not surprised by the size of things in America, one-third said they were.<sup>10</sup>

### *General Aspects of American Life*

Nearly nine-tenths of the Michigan group agreed that Americans are a hard-working people, in keeping perhaps with the sentiment of the Israeli man at Minnesota who told the interviewer that, "You don't find gold on the streets." Eighty-five per cent at Michigan agreed that most Americans are not rich, and one-fourth said "No" to the view that the United States has a "very high level of economic security." An Iranian at Minnesota said he previously had thought of Americans as a leisure class; now he considers them to be efficient, practical and down-to-earth. An interviewee from Jordan said the main thing he wants to tell his country about America is that anyone who will work can prosper, even the handicapped. "If you want to progress, you will," he said; "If you fail, it's your fault."

American industriousness was not viewed as an unmixed blessing, however. Close to nine-tenths of the Michigan group considered Americans overly

9. One Minnesota interviewee, from the Egyptian Region of the United Arab Republic, expressed surprise that there are so many run-down houses, unlike those in American movies. An Israeli was surprised at the fact that so many Americans seem to be anxious and unhappy despite their relative wealth and security.

10. One of the Turks at Minnesota, stressing the size of the buildings in New York, the crowds, the traffic, and the rush, said: "The bigness of it all; that was my first impression. It made me feel as if even the big city of Istanbul was really just a village."



TABLE 1

Responses by Middle Eastern Students at the  
University of Michigan to Statements Concerning  
Surprise at Selected Aspects of American Life.

<i>Statements</i>	<i>Number of Responses</i>		
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>No</i>
"It has come as a surprise to me that there is so much religious activity in the US."	73	9	11
"I was surprised to learn that there is so much racial discrimination in the US."	52	12	29
"I knew that the US was a wealthy country, but I was surprised at the high standard of living enjoyed by most people."	43	6	44
"The gigantic size of American buildings, highways, factories, etc., was much greater than I had expected."	33	11	49

preoccupied with money. "People are too busy running to live," said a Minnesota student from Iraq; and an Egyptian suggested that "The US looks like a car race." To the energetic, active American, in the view of a Lebanese interviewee, time is so important that leisurely social life is impossible. However, about two-fifths of the questionnaire respondents rejected the notion that Americans have no sense of purpose in life, as compared with about one-fourth who agreed, leaving one-third undecided. Somewhat related to this is the disagreement by almost two-thirds that Americans have poor manners.

Just over three-quarters of the Michigan group considered American government to be democratic; only five of the 93 said "No." Not quite half said Americans are aware and concerned about domestic governmental problems, but more said "Yes" than "No." American policy in the Middle East did not fare so well, three-fifths saying it is not enlightened and fair and only about one-fifth saying it is. In the Minnesota interviews there was much criticism of our Middle Eastern policies, especially of American support of Israel and of criticism in our press of Arab neutralism. The agreement by two-thirds at Michigan with the idea that Americans are gullible may be mainly a reflection of this type of criticism; all the Minnesota interviewees who stated this view explained it in terms of the American's alleged uncritical acceptance of what he reads in the papers about the Middle East.<sup>11</sup>

11. Both Arab and Israeli students at Minnesota stated that the opportunity to discuss foreign student affairs and other matters with each other is a valuable experience. So long as they keep their "gentlemen's agreement" not to discuss Middle Eastern politics they find that they talk with each other constructively.



Three-fifths of the questionnaire respondents agreed that racial discrimination is the most unfavorable aspect of American life; but more agreed than disagreed that American religious, national and political minorities are fairly treated, with almost one-third undecided.

### *Views on American Education*

Three-fourths of those questionnaired endorsed the view that American youths have a great deal of opportunity to become educated adults. Three-fifths checked agreement that American high schools emphasize extra-curricular activities too much; and almost half thought the transition to college is too great, with one-third being undecided on this. Only three agreed that the American educational system teaches enough about other peoples and countries; 11 were undecided; and 79 disagreed.

The Michigan students had some favorable ideas about American higher education, particularly graduate study. Over four-fifths considered our higher education expensive, but evidently a sizeable majority thought it worthy. Over three-fifths believed American graduate study and research to be very impressive. Over three-fourths approved of the informality of student-professor relationships, and the majority considered academic counseling adequate. Nearly two-thirds thought we emphasize "social life" too much in American colleges and universities. Considerable criticism is suggested by the fact that about one-fourth took a dim view of undergraduate requirements, undergraduate study habits, and class sizes—with many undecided on these matters—but on all three items there were more who gave favorable replies.

### *Marriage and Family Life*

Three-fifths of the Michigan group agreed that American families openly discuss problems, ideas and activities, with one-third undecided. A great number, four-fifths, indicated that they favor this practice. Yet the bulk of the responses to all the other items concerning marriage and the family were critical of some of the consequences of the democratization of the family. Substantial majorities agreed that the American family is too loosely knit, that women have too much authority in the family, that too many mothers work away from home, that children have too much freedom, and that Americans marry too young. Two-fifths agreed and fewer disagreed, that divorce is too easy. Nearly half disagreed, while only one-fifth agreed, that American children are supervised well.

Three-fourths agreed that the American couple should get parental approval for marriage. Four-fifths approved of the idea that a person should marry someone with approximately the same amount of education. Almost two-thirds agreed that American families are too materialistic.

*Problems of Culture Contact*

To nearly three-fourths the idea was untenable that foreign students are often favored unduly, but one-tenth agreed and some were undecided. The question as to whether or not foreign students encounter special obstacles in academic work was not raised.

A majority of the Michiganites agreed that Middle Eastern students should try not to become too Americanized. One of the Minnesota interviewees from Egypt stated that four years is as long as most should stay. After that, in his view, one gets so Americanized that he is impatient with barriers to change and the inadequate facilities in his home country. He suggested that one may even feel like an outsider, marginal to his own people, if his attitudes and habits have become too American. Just about half the questionnaire group anticipated little trouble in putting American training into practice upon returning home but almost one-third did expect difficulty and one-fifth were undecided.

*Factors Associated with Differences in Outlook*

Responses to five important items were tabulated against certain characteristics of the Michigan respondents. Because the resulting frequencies are small, no computations were made of the size of associations. Percentage differences of 10% or less are arbitrarily treated as too small to mention; differences of 11 through 20% are called "considerable;" and those above 20% are "large." Table 2 shows, for example, that a considerably higher percentage of graduate than undergraduate students agreed that our religious, national and political minorities are fairly treated. Graduate students were also considerably more inclined to agree that Americans are concerned about domestic government problems.

As Table 2 indicates, type of study was associated with a large difference in the view of how we treat our ethnic minorities, with students of social science, education and humanities tending to be more favorable than engineers and physical scientists. Considerable differences in the same direction were found concerning American awareness of domestic problems of government, a sense of purpose in life, and the level of economic security.

Being married made a large favorable difference in response to the ethnic minorities item (Table 2), the statement about a sense of purpose in life, and the one about American friendliness and hospitality. One possible explanation is that the experience of the married couples in University housing areas is generally pleasant.

Arab students showed the largest tendency to favor our treatment of ethnic minorities, trailed considerably by the Iranians and then the Turks, all contrasting sharply with the lack of a single "Yes" by the Israelis. (See Table 2.) The latter group also took a much dimmer view of American awareness of domestic

politics, sense of purpose, and level of economic security. Taking account of all five of the selected items, the Arabs and Iranians were the most favorable to American life, followed by the Turks, with the Israelis clearly the least favorable. The numbers involved here are small, of course, and the views may not be representative of all students from these countries.

Length of stay in the United States was not consistently related to responses to the five items, although some "considerable" percentage differences were found. In all five instances the less-than-two-year group resembled the over-four-year students more than it did the two-to-four-year people.

TABLE 2. Responses to Questionnaire Statement that, "Religious, National, and Political Minorities in the United States are Treated Fairly," by Student Status, Type of Study, Marital Status, and Native Country.

	<i>Number of Responses</i>		
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>No</i>
Student Status			
Graduate	30	18	11
Undergraduate	11	10	12
Special		1	
Type of Study			
Engineering and Physical Science	24	23	18
Social Science, Education and Humanities	17	6	4
Unspecified			1
Marital Status			
Married	18	11	1
Single	23	18	21
Divorced			1
Native Country			
*Arab Countries	23	6	9
Iran	5	6	1
Turkey	13	11	12
Israel	0	1	6

\* United Arab Republic, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon

### *Conclusion*

The questionnaire results confirmed the general hypotheses which emerged from the interviews at the University of Minnesota. Many Middle Eastern students at the University of Michigan experienced surprises upon contact with American life, especially as to the extent of religious activity, and many indicated that cultural contact posed problems for them. Differences were found on five selected statements by student status, field of study, marital status and

native country. Differences by length of stay were not related to cultural perspectives in any consistent manner, and there were too few females to permit meaningful comparisons by sex.

It was found, as hypothesized, that Middle Eastern students have favorable views of some general aspects of American life and unfavorable views of others. Generally they saw Americans as industrious and democratic, but too materialistic and ill informed about the rest of the world. Predominantly they considered our treatment of ethnic minorities to be fair, but not that of subordinate racial groups. They indicated both favorable and unfavorable ideas about American education and family life. Their views of higher education, especially graduate study, were more favorable than otherwise. The predominant tendency was to be critical of various aspects or consequences of equalitarianism in marriage and the family.

Only further research can tell whether these views are typical of all Middle Eastern students in the United States. Considerable contradiction and ambiguity were found in the perspectives of American patterns of personal friendship and hospitality, so perhaps this would be worthy of inclusion in further studies.

## ON THE ECONOMIC FEASIBILITY OF A MIDDLE EASTERN COMMON MARKET

Daniel H. Garnick

THERE have been several attempts at varying degrees of economic union in the Middle East in recent years, such as the currency union between Lebanon and Syria and the present complete union of Egypt and Syria. Earlier, under British mandate, Palestine's currency was tied to Egypt's currency. Although in all these cases of union there were economic consequences, prime motivations for the union were political.

This study considers the putative results of a common market as among four economic entities of the Middle East: Turkey, Iraq, Israel and Egypt—three of them now independent states and one of them now the "Southern Province" of the United Arab Republic. Recent political developments in an area of rapid change, as well as any regrouping which might occur in a future nearer than that envisioned in my model, are not considered here, and there is no *parti pris* concerning the validity of any of the possibilities. These four entities were chosen for the basic model because of the initial apparent differences among them. Thus, it seemed clear that although the agricultural sector was highly important for all of them, there was unequal potential for further development—Egypt and Israel being strongly limited; Turkey and Iraq possessing rather vast possibilities. In addition, Turkey appeared to have rich mineral resources for heavy industry denied the others; Iraq was the only important petroleum producer among the four; Egypt had a huge under-employed population which might serve as a cheap labor center for future industrial development plus the cheapest source of power—hydroelectric—with the completion of the Aswan Dam; and Israel in smaller proportions and possibly with the least domestic resources of the four, had an occupational structure approximating that of the United States. In the concluding section of the article, the economic model is varied to observe the effects of the union with the further inclusion of Syria, the "Northern Province" of the UAR, and Lebanon and with the exclusion of Turkey and Israel.

In attempting to indicate the possibility of economic gain resulting from economic union, the following summary of conditions leading to trade creation or diversion as a result of economic union have been posed. It should be noted

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that trade creation subsumes a more optimum allocation of international resources and hence an increase in economic welfare, while trade diversion implies the reverse. Some of these conditions have been neatly presented by J. Meade<sup>1</sup> and will help to serve as criteria and in structuring this article and its conclusions.

To the extent that economic union induces a decrease in trade barriers among the contracting parties, there will probably result a primary (direct) increase in trade and, therefore, an increase in economic welfare since an increase in trade will probably result in an increase in the international division of resources with a more intensive use of relatively abundant factors in each of the participating states.

To the extent that the economies among the contracting parties are actually competitive but potentially complementary there will probably result an important increase in economic welfare, since with economic union a more optimum allocation of resources is likely to occur with increased trade inducing a more intensive use of the abundant factors in each state.

This more optimum allocation will probably be of more substantial proportions, the greater the initial restrictions on trade among the contracting parties prior to economic union, since the higher the initial restrictions, implicitly, the greater the distortion of factor use and payments in the individual states.

To the extent that each of the contracting parties is the principal supplier to the others of those products which it exports and the principal market of the others of those products which it imports there will be less scope for trade diversion (and, hence, less scope for a diminution of economic welfare) since, presumably, these original trading relations were based on differences in relative factor endowment among the individual states.

Similarly, the larger the share of the contracting parties total production, consumption and trade as a proportion of the world's, the less the scope for trade diversion. The extreme case of this would be universal thoroughgoing free trade in which there would be no possibility of trade diversion, so that each addition to total trade would also be a net addition to economic welfare.

To the extent that economic union permits the operation of agglomeration economies (economies of scale, economies of juxtaposition and other external economies) that could not obtain among the individual states, and to the extent that the operation of these economies permits the displacement of less productive units among the contracting parties, there will result an increase in economic welfare.

In conjunction with the above, but in a less international sense although not in conflict with it, to the extent that economic union widens the market (in Adam Smith's sense), and thereby permits the development of new

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1. *The Theory of Customs Unions*, Amsterdam, 1955, pp. 107-114.

industries, the products of which had not been demanded or for which there was only a very small demand in the area heretofore owing to its backwardness, and to the extent that the development of these new industries raises the marginal product of labor by rerouting underemployed labor whose marginal product has been virtually zero into an output where the marginal product is positive, there will result a net increase in economic welfare. Internationally, the increase in economic welfare will be greater if it does not result in import substitutes and lessen the international division of labor. It will, however, be positive so long as it results in a greater product than that which was reduced owing to possible trade diverting effects arising from production of import substitutes.

Not all of these principles have equal weight, nor will all of them be equally elaborated upon.

To begin with, total Middle Eastern production, consumption and trade represent only a tiny proportion of total world production, consumption and trade. The magnitude varies between three and five per cent including petroleum. Hence, on this count there would be great scope for trade diversion and less scope for trade creation since, the lesser the proportion to total world trade, the less the scope for trade creation and the greater for trade diversion.

The Inter-Arab Trade and Payments Agreement of 1953 and its further amendments and extensions provided for mutual abolition of duties on agricultural products and for tariff reductions ranging from 25 to 50 per cent on a number of industrial goods. Thus the scope for an increase in economic welfare and in trade creation through further steps toward union of the Arab states is narrowed, since much of the benefits that would accrue through economic union might have already been obtained through direct agreement toward the easing of trade restrictions. On the other hand, union between Israel and the Arab states could possibly increase the scope for trade creation by the widest conceivable margin, if considered in the light, alone, of trade barriers, since there is an absolute prohibition of trade between the Arab states and Israel and a prohibition of transit of goods and factors currently. Inclusion of Turkey would also tend to increase the scope for trade creation, although less than would inclusion of Israel since there already exists some trade between Turkey and the Arab states as well as between Turkey and Israel.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to the 1958 revolution, Iraq had a very liberal import policy including a low tariff schedule on goods emanating from the world at large. Since the revolution, Iraq has adopted increasingly restrictive policies on imports,

2. This might be qualified by including an additional condition to bring the model closer to reality. Since Israel represents a state whose population is less than one tenth the size of the Turkish population, and whose economic potential is probably considerably less than Turkey's, to the extent that Turkey's economic magnitude in terms of trade and production is greater than Israel's; will the inclusion of Turkey in the union add more and the inclusion of Israel less to the economic welfare of the union?



approximating the restrictions on trade imposed by Egypt, Israel and Turkey. These include high tariff schedules, import licensing and bilateral agreements. Thus, the already restrictive trade policies with regard to the rest of the world tend to limit the scope for additional trade diversion, and to the extent that this trade is limited by quantitative restrictions and bilateral agreements, there will be no trade diversion in the welfare sense. Thus, to the extent that trade policies with regard to the world at large are restrictive the scope for additional trade diversion is lessened and that for trade creation increased; the inclusion of Turkey and Israel will on balance serve to increase the scope for trade creation.

Having given a cursory glance at the conditions for trade creation and the trade policy settings of the states under study, we are led directly to the crucial questions of what is produced and what can be traded with mutual advantage. Table 1 presents an overview of the relative importance of various sectors in the four states. It will be noted immediately that agriculture is from two and one-half to three times as important in Egypt, Iraq and Turkey as a share of GNP than it is in Israel, and that industry is from 20 to 40 per cent more important in Israel than in the other three. In general, the relative importance of broad economic sectors in Egypt, Iraq and Turkey are roughly similar and the structure of Israel's economy differs in that agriculture is less and manufacturing more important. This would seem to indicate some com-

TABLE 1  
*Sectoral Origin of Gross National Product (Percentage of distribution)*

Sector	Egypt <sup>1</sup>	Iraq <sup>2,3</sup>	Israel <sup>2</sup>	Turkey <sup>2</sup>
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	35	33	13	41
Mining	1	16	20	1
Manufacturing	11			14
Construction	3	9	6	4
Transportation and Communications	7	5	9	8
Trade	8	14	12	12
Government	16	23	20	8
Other Services	19		20	12

SOURCE: For Egypt, Israel and Turkey, *U.N. Statistical Yearbook 1957*; for Iraq, *U.N. Economic Development in the Middle East, 1956-1957*.

1. 1954.

2. 1956.

3. Not including petroleum. Therefore, this column tends to understate the government sector which is the recipient of important oil royalties (approximately 25 per cent of "income originating" originates in the petroleum industry's payments to the Government of Iraq). To the extent that the government sector is understated, therefore, the other sectors are overstated.

plementarity as between Israel's economy and the other three and competitiveness among the other three.

Perhaps the argument might be offered that it is not enough to note broad sectoral similarities existing in most of the states of the region and therefore despair of any fruitfulness of economic union since it is possible that trade might develop within the sectors. A brief glance at the patterns of trade existing among most industrial nations would indicate an abundance of intra-sectoral trade. Thus, while the United States in 1958, exported to the United Kingdom steel bars, alloy steel, hot rolled steel bars, stainless steel bars and carbon steel bars; it imported from the United Kingdom in that same year steel concrete bars, alloyed steel bars, cold rolled steel bars, wire rod, and such products. While the United States exported electric refrigerators to the United Kingdom it imported from the United Kingdom electric fans and blowers; while it exported phenol acid, it imported coal tar acid; indeed, while it exported motion picture cameras and film to the United Kingdom, it imported motion picture cameras and film from the United Kingdom.

The plentitude of intra-sectoral trade between the United States and United Kingdom implies something about the economic structures of these states, however, that cannot be said for any of the Middle Eastern states. The vast variety of commodities produced in the industrially developed states, although seeming to indicate a greater self sufficiency in each of them, actually gives rise to infinitely greater trade possibilities among them than exists in the underdeveloped countries with their few commodities. Indeed, it is the monocultural nature of most primary producing nations that has lent to their trade patterns a degree of narrowness and rigidity with regard to the actual commodities traded and the directions of that trade, regardless of the reasons for this trade having been initiated. It is this monocultural nature, therefore, which not only has tended to fix a sectoral competitiveness rather than complementarity among the less developed states but also tends to preclude the possibility of developing a significant intra-sectoral trade. But it is just this reliance upon a single or a few crops or commodities which has proved so irritating to most underdeveloped economies and which in programming future economic development, they strive to offset.

Each of the states under study have undertaken development programs and although each starts from different resource bases, it is not surprising to find that with the partial exception of Iraq, the lines of growth will, in fact, tend to increase the competitiveness of, certainly, Egypt and Turkey with each other and with Israel. It is not surprising because in individual development each would tend to supply to its domestic market those goods which can be most readily processed at home. Thus, the growth of cement plants in all the states, to the extent that Israel, Egypt and Turkey (in diminishing order) each currently produce more than enough for their domestic markets. Phosphates exist in all the states under study, and Israel, Egypt and Turkey have been

producing increasing quantities of them, primarily for fertilizers for their own agriculture, although Israel is presently and Egypt aspires to be a net exporter of this chemical. Similarly, textile production is increasing in each of the states, as is sugar refining and other food processing. These are the usual starting points in industrial development.

Currently, Renault is contracting with Egypt to establish an automotive assembly plant in addition to the Ford assembly plant already in existence as well as a tire factory, while Israel has also long since had established tire plants and an auto assembly plant which have been important elements in its export program. What is to prevent Turkey from also establishing auto assembly and tire plants?

While Turkey already has a basic steel industry, Egypt is establishing its own, as well as Iraq with Russian aid, and Israel is contemplating building a steel plant—each with a present tiny domestic market incapable of supporting an economic sized integrated steel plant.

It becomes increasingly apparent that, in view of the development programs in the individual states, what little present complementarity exists between Israel and the other three stands to be potentially diminished rather than heightened.

Why, then, seriously consider joining these entities in a regional common market?

Essentially, because the programmed development in each of them individually does not lend itself to benefiting from an international division of labor, that each state is duplicating the efforts of its neighbors and so none, given the dearth in external economies in each, gain the advantages of the agglomeration economies which might obtain in a larger market framework.

Collectively, the development programs might show considerable deviation from the paths now followed in each. Let us examine, for example, a model of the agricultural realities and potentialities among the four states and pursue its implications.

Using Denmark's levels of agricultural output and consumption, admittedly high, Colin Clark estimates that a square kilometer of cultivated land can support a population of 200.<sup>3</sup> For this article, it would be better to use the concept of crop area rather than cultivated area since in the Middle East, much of the dry farming regions are left fallow and the irrigated regions give 1.5 to two crops per year.

In Table 2, cultivated area includes fallow and irrigated land; to obtain crop area, fallow land is subtracted and irrigated area is multiplied by 1.5. Current crop area divided into the population of each country gives the population per sq. km. of crops—over 200 representing the extent of "surplus" popula-

3. "Population Growth and Living Standards" originally appearing in the *International Labour Review*, August 1953, and reprinted in Agarwala and Singh, *The Economics of Underdevelopment*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1958, pp. 32-53.

tion per sq. km., that population which cannot be fed by the domestic resources of the country under Danish standards of production and consumption, and under 200 representing the extent of deficit population per sq. km., the additional population that could be fed or exportable surplus per sq. km. Finally, we arrive at the actual totals of "surplus" and "deficit" populations in each country and net surplus population for the four collectively.

It will be seen that current crop areas are more than sufficient to afford exportable surpluses in Iraq and Turkey, but that the "surplus" populations in Egypt and Israel more than offset the surplus agricultural production in the other two states, so that the four collectively still have a surplus population of about 10 million or close to 20 per cent of the population of the four states together.

TABLE 2

*Population and Agricultural Area in Four Middle Eastern States, 1959  
According to Danish Standards of Productivity and Consumption  
(thousands of sq. km. and population)*

	Egypt	Iraq	Israel	Turkey
Cultivated area	25.2	43.75	4	149.7
Cropped area	39	29.2	5	99.6
Population/sq. km. of cropped area	560	185	400	167
Surplus (+) or deficit (—) population/sq. km.	+360	—15	+200	—33
Total surplus or deficit population	+14,040	—340	+1,000	—4,940
Net surplus population for area				+9,760

SOURCE: I.B.R.D., *The Economic Development of Iraq*, 1952, p. 137. S. Marei, *Agrarian Reform in Egypt*, Cairo, 1957, pp. 270-1. U.S.D.C., *Investment in Turkey*, Wash., D. C. 1956, p. 47. H. Halperin, *Changing Patterns in Israel Agriculture*, London, 1957 and *Israel Government Yearbooks 1956 and 1957*.

However, were these countries to utilize fully their land and water resources, the uncultivated but cultivable and irrigable land in Turkey and Iraq described in the references given in the data source of Table 2 and were Egypt successfully to complete its High Dam and were Israel to double its irrigated land and add 25 per cent more to its total cultivated land—all within the development plans and possibilities of these countries—over a twenty year period, given that their population growth continues at present rates, 2.5 per cent annually in Egypt, two per cent annually in Turkey and Iraq, and Israel doubling through its present high rate of natural increase and immigration, could this area collectively support somewhat more than its projected population in terms of agricultural output.

The projected population increase seems to accord with reality, and 20 years may be a long enough period in which to increase the productivity and consumption standards of the population so that it might approximate Denmark's current standards.<sup>4</sup> Table 3 reflects the potential increase in land use and population over the next 20 years and the "surplus" and "deficit" populations in each country as well as total new "deficit" population or agricultural exportable surplus for the area collectively in terms of supportable population.

TABLE 3  
*Potential Population and Agricultural Area in Four Middle Eastern States, 1979, According to Danish Standards of Productivity and Consumption (thousands of sq. km. and population)*

	Egypt	Iraq	Israel	Turkey
Potential Cultivated area	33.6	120	5	165.8
Potential Cropped area	52	180	7.5	186.5
Potential Population/sq. km.	635	43	533	188
Surplus (+) or deficit (-) population/sq. km.	+435	-157	+333	-12
Total surplus or deficit population	+22,600	-28,300	+2,500	-2,230
Net deficit population for area				-6,430

Thus, through maximizing land use in these states by substantial increases in Egyptian and Israeli agriculture, but more important, doubling Turkish and increasing six fold Iraqi cropped areas, this region can collectively supply more than sufficient agricultural produce to its population.

"Under modern Danish conditions, you have 10 men working per square kilometer of land and 200 people supplied thereby."<sup>5</sup> If, then, we include the families of the agricultural labor, assuming the average family size to be five, twenty years hence there might be, including dependents, in Egypt, 2,600,000 people in agriculture; in Iraq, 9 million; Israel 375,000 and Turkey 9,325,000.

But Iraq's projected total population is 7,750,000 and assuming that 30 per cent will be involved in necessary non-agricultural and governmental services, Iraq could import, with economic union and free movement of factors, almost an additional four million people (800,000 families) to supply the agricultural labor requisite for its potential crop area, say, from the redundant

4. Although, this is no more than wishful speculation.

5. Colin Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

agricultural population of Egypt. Even with emigration of 4,000,000 from Egypt, only 11 per cent of Egypt's population would be involved in agriculture as opposed to about 70 per cent currently. Israel's agricultural population would only be somewhat proportionally smaller than present. Turkey, if its permanent meadow lands also were to be used for livestock, might involve up to 35 percent of its population in agricultural occupations, about half its current proportion.

The potential existence of Iraq as a large surplus agricultural producer whose total resources are almost entirely devoted to agricultural output, with perhaps a small portion of the resources performing a bare minimum of local services for the agricultural population, implies a concurrent existence in Iraq of a large market for manufactured goods which will not be satisfied by domestic resources. To the extent that Iraq would be successful in exporting the agricultural surplus, the demand for foreign goods and services would be funded (in addition to the funded demand arising from receipt of oil royalties). The potential, if not current, existence of agricultural deficits in Egypt and Israel has been demonstrated above. The difficulty, then, lies in funding the demand of these two states. To the extent that this funding could occur through increasing the exportable surplus of manufactured goods and other services which Iraq could use, the complementarities as between Iraq on the one hand, and Egypt and Israel on the other, would be pronounced.

The point at issue here is what motivation would induce the significant changes in the economies under study, so that Iraq would maximize its agricultural output for which it has the resources; that Turkey would likewise maximize its agricultural output and increase significantly its mineral output<sup>6</sup> and perhaps develop a large scale, economically efficient, integrated steel works; that Egypt would rapidly remove its redundant agricultural labor whose marginal productivity is virtually zero into occupations with positive marginal productivity; that Israel would desist from its attempts to achieve agricultural self-sufficiency and turn its resources to enlarging the scale of its industry and thereby obtain increased economies? What would stimulate the necessary investment to secure this more optimum allocation of resources? The promise of profits, for one thing, might induce foreign investment to enter this area anew as it has the European Economic Community. The existence of a market for these outputs would induce the investments necessary for the reallocation to occur.

Thus the widening of the market in this region through establishment of a common market could be the impetus to break the vicious circle of underdevelopment. The existence of a wide market could, in addition to funding the demand among the sectors and states, also serve to increase the

6. While there has been no "full scope" survey of Turkey's mineral deposits, "enough is known to place Turkey in the category of mineral-rich countries." U.S.D.C. *op. cit.*, p. 10.



productivity of the sectors and in addition might have the effect of so diversifying the outputs even within sectors as to encourage intra-sectoral trade and thereby further increase the division of labor and further increase productivity.

Economic union as outlined in this model has the prime advantage of permitting a rather balanced sectoral development—more so than each country alone might be able to undertake individually. This certainly is true for Egypt and Israel and probably less so for Iraq and Turkey. However, together the scale and direction of balanced economic development would probably far outstrip any effort the individual states might be able to undertake. Thus while Iraq, and to a lesser extent Turkey, extend their cultivation of food and industrial crops, the others, given the increase in available foodstuffs and industrial crops, intensify their manufacturing efforts to broaden and increase industrial outputs.

Two major industrial schemes will serve to illustrate the possibilities more likely to be undertaken with economic union than without such union.

Heretofore, it has been recognized that there are in Turkey economic deposits of bauxite but, because of the lack of cheap power, as well as the lack of important nearby markets among the individual states of the region, no thought has been given to development of an aluminum industry. In Egypt, on the other hand, the erection of the Aswan Dam will afford significant quantities of hydroelectric power which will be tapped for local industries, redundant to those already in existence or planned for in neighboring locations. Might not the development of a major aluminum industry with Egypt as the nucleus, Turkey as a prime satellite and Israel as a secondary satellite, be of more importance for the future economic development of the region than the development of several small enterprises competitive with other states in the region? Location of the sites of an aluminum industry might profitably follow from the technical as well as economic stages in the industrial structure.

In such a scheme, Turkey might profitably become the site of the first stage of the industry. That is, in addition to mining the bauxite, Turkey might also be the locus for transforming the aluminum ore to alumina. In this stage, the application of small amounts of heat to the ore transforms it to about half its weight into alumina (aluminum oxide). This stage, then, is essentially weight-losing and since it is not oriented especially to fuel or labor, its transport-orientation would indicate location near the source of supply of the ore, Turkey.

The second stage of the industry consists of the reduction of the alumina into ingot. This stage is clearly power-oriented, requiring 18,000 K.W.H. of energy to reduce two tons of alumina into one ton of aluminum ingot. This stage need not be huge to obtain the requisite economies—a unit pot yields only 250 lbs. of ingot a day. It is apparent, however, that this stage, in order to be competitive, must be located at a cheap power site, near the hydro-electric power source at the Aswan Dam.



The third stage consists of semifinishing and finishing mills including rolling, extrusion and fabricating. This stage would tend to be labor and market-oriented. Thus, the erection of semifinishing plants might profitably be located in the larger labor centers of Egypt and perhaps Turkey. Various fabricating plants might be erected or expanded in all of the states.

Another interesting possibility, in no way precluding the former scheme, might lie in the development of a regional petro-chemical complex, using the petroleum of Iraq carried in a ship and the already existing pipeline to the transport break-points of Egypt and Israel. At these loci, the existence of labor skilled in refinery techniques can be expanded to enlarge the already skilled forces so occupied and can employ large additional unskilled labor in processing synthetic fibers or other, perhaps heavy, plastics. With regard to the former process an important study was undertaken by W. Isard and T. Vietorisz.<sup>7</sup> The only objection that may arise in connection with large scale synthetic fiber development is that it would cause significant initial dislocations in the natural fiber industries so important in this region and may thereby produce destabilizing effects which might hold serious implications for economic development and, indeed, political stability in the area. A heavy plastics process on the other hand, might produce immediate beneficial effects in offsetting the dearth of lumber, and, at present, dearth of structural metals in the area.

It should be noted, in conclusion, that although this paper deals with four entities of the Middle East, it by no means excludes the other entities of the region. It is much simpler to deal in a model with a few entities and factors rather than many. Were the paper to have included additional entities other complementarities and other offsetting competitions might be noted, and although this would not have overstated the case for the benefits to be derived from economic union on the whole, it might have tended to overstate the case for some of the individual entities involved. Thus, were we to crank into the model also Syria, the "Northern Province" of the United Arab Republic, with its relative abundance of cultivable and irrigable land, Iraq's abundance of crop potential would not have meshed quite so nicely with Egypt's dearth, for now Syria's agricultural potential would be competitive with Iraq's for Egypt's potential market. On the other hand, the benefits to be derived from the union might ultimately be the greater with Syria's inclusion since the competition would determine that only the most productive resources would be initially tapped, thus postponing the rapidity of diminishing returns and releasing factors for other more productive uses. Similarly, were Lebanon to be included, it would tend to be competitive with Israel in terms of its orchardry, relative abundance of tertiary occupations and in its position as a

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7. "Industrial Complex Analysis and Regional Development, with Particular Reference to Puerto Rico," *Papers and Proceedings, Regional Science Association*; Vol. I, 1955.

terminus of oil pipelines and possession of petroleum refinery capacity as well as competitive in many of its consumer goods manufactures. However, with the rising incomes envisioned through the economic development further stimulated by the common market and therefore through the more optimum use of resources, it is quite reasonable to believe that all the additional output that these units are capable of producing, they are also capable of consuming in the initial stages. Were Turkey and Israel to be excluded, say, from an all-Arab economic union, the welfare effects on the union would tend to be diminished more from the exclusion of Turkey with its greater economic potential arising from its greater size and that arising from its greater possession of mineral resources than from the exclusion of relatively small Israel. This paper, however, would tend to argue for the broadest inclusion in economic terms, since the larger the economic area included in the union, the greater the potential trade creating effects and the less the potential trade diverting effects, the more substantial the probable reallocation of resources, the greater the net increase in economic welfare.

# CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN A MOROCCAN IMMIGRANT VILLAGE IN ISRAEL

Alex Weingrod

Israel's political and cultural position in the Middle East, as well as her emerging "national character," is to a large degree dependent upon social relations among the ethnic groups which comprise her population. Israelis themselves are concerned with problems of culture change: *mizug ha'galuyot*, the intermixing of ethnic groups, is both an official and more popular slogan. New immigrants and comparative veterans consider the direction and tempo of change and ponder the future face of the community now taking form.

This article reviews the experience of one group of new immigrants, namely, a village populated by Moroccan Jews. In the period between 1948 and 1956 some 120,000 Moroccan Jews immigrated to Israel. In Israel the immigrants have become dispersed throughout various social settings: some have taken up residence in or near large cities, many have found a home and work in new towns in development areas, while others have been settled in farming villages. Approximately 5,000 immigrants have entered this latter settlement category, and now live in *moshvei olim*, new immigrant cooperative villages.

One such *moshav* is considered here, as well as the effects of the new situation upon a group of Moroccan immigrants. In coming to Israel the immigrants enter into a fundamentally Jewish polity, and are exposed to new cultural items and ideals. In a *moshav* they participate in a novel social system, and begin to play new social roles. How these conditions have affected the immigrants, what changes in act and attitude have taken place and what has tended to persist, is our subject.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the village itself, it will be useful to briefly review some features of the *moshav* and of the Israeli land settlement system. The *moshav* form was originally evolved by Eastern-European Jewish immigrants during the 1920's. The founders of the system conceived of a farming village in which each family would be a separate productive unit,

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while the families would also join in cooperative marketing and purchasing. In the *moshav* every family lives in its own home and is responsible for working its land. In keeping with general socialist principles, the hiring of labor is prohibited except in extreme cases; the accent is upon self-help. Each family is, moreover, granted an equal sized plot of land and guaranteed equal access to water. The various families purchase agricultural supplies cooperatively (that is, water, fertilizer, seed and mechanized equipment costs are charged to the community as a whole) and market their goods together. Cooperative marketing ideally permits the community loan structure to continue and draws the villagers into daily interdependence. As an independent political unit, the *moshav* is governed by democratic procedures: long term policy is determined at periodic village meetings while daily affairs are entrusted to elected officers and committees. The *moshav* may be thought of as combining family autonomy in production with cooperative farming techniques and seeks to build traditions of cooperative village farming.

The classic Israeli *moshavim* were built and settled by volunteer pioneering groups, who in settling the land sought to realize both personal and national ideals. Settlement in *moshavim* following the establishment of Israel contrasts sharply with the pre-state pattern. Guided by defense considerations and by a desire to disperse the Israeli population, state planners ordered the construction of some three hundred *moshavim* and directed new immigrants to these villages. In many instances the *moshavim* were built in remote, unpopulated areas. Planning, financing and building the villages was the responsibility of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency. Agency workers determined the location of each village, planned village buildings and the layout of the fields and supervised the installation of irrigation systems; once settlers arrived in the village Agency personnel continued to direct and control the farming process. Since most of the new settlers lacked farming experience, each village was assigned a group of three village instructors, or *madrachim*: a *madrach chevruti*, or social instructor, whose task it was to teach the villagers the ways of cooperation, and to serve as manager of the intricate economic system; a *madrach chacklai*, or agricultural instructor, who taught the settlers the farming skills and a *madracha*, or women's instructor, who guided the women in new kinds of home and family management techniques. Such teams of workers, typically young Israelis, lived within each village. The *madrachim* were not only farm managers, they were also meant to be models of a new way of life.

The village described here is located in the northern Negev, some twenty kilometers north of Beer Sheva. The settlement was built during 1953-1954 and was first occupied by a group of young Israelis. A year later, however, the Israeli group began to leave the village and moved to a border settlement further north. At approximately the same time the settlement authorities agreed to transfer thirty Moroccan families to the then emptying village. These

families were part of a somewhat larger Moroccan group that had then arrived in the country, and who had been dispatched, immediately upon landing, to a *moshav* populated by European settlers. Tensions between the Moroccan immigrants and the European settlers were such, however, that most of the Moroccans soon asked to be transferred to a different settlement. In December 1954, thirty families moved to the village under consideration. This group served as a village nucleus, around which individual families and groups of families later clustered.

The formation and original social composition of the village deserves careful consideration. With the exception of several pairs of brothers and cousins, none of the original settlers had ever known the other. They came from different regions in Morocco, or from different parts of the same city. As a group they were joined together by administrative decision rather than any process of natural development. They took up life together in a *moshav* because they happened to reach Israel on the same boat, and since they happened to be chosen from among a larger group of Moroccan immigrants for settlement in a Negev *moshav*. Chance factors had a determining effect upon the initial social structure of the village. Strangers became neighbors, under conditions of extreme social interdependence.

On the other hand, the new settlers shared a number of important social characteristics. Most of the heads of families were between the ages of twenty-five and forty, though several were much older. With the exception of several men who were born in cities, all of the adult immigrants had been born in Moroccan villages or small towns. Many of them, however, had migrated and spent part of their adult lives in various Moroccan urban centers. For these settlers to transfer to Israel represented the second significant migration of their lives. In the villages of their birth or cities of their choice they had been petty traders, peddlers, shopkeepers or artisans. Some of the older men knew Hebrew, and a few of the younger men were fluent in French. They were persons of low or at best moderate status, indistinguishable in most ways from the traditional Jews of the Moroccan *mellah*.

Although chance factors governed the formation of the village, other considerations influenced its development. The village to which the settlers had come was planned as a community of sixty families. Since the initial group included only half that number, many houses were empty; moreover, some of the original settlers soon left. Economic conditions in the village were favorable (the land had not yet been parcelled out, and each family was guaranteed daily wage-work) and, with homes standing empty, the settlers began to encourage relatives in different parts of the country to join them. At the same time two groups of kinship, one numbering ten families, and the other eventually of fourteen families, settled in the village. Within a year most of the homes were occupied. The new settlers were, from a cultural point of view, similar to the original group. Yet with their arrival the social structure

of the village was fundamentally changed. Almost every family then had some relative in the village, and two groups of kin dominated the village population. While the social structure had at first been characterized by unfamiliarity, it quickly came to be based upon traditional primary group ties. This wholly unplanned change had important consequences for the future course of village social and political affairs.

The equipment, installations and farming schedule of the village were typical of new settlements in the region. Each family was allocated a standard two room concrete block house, and the village as a whole was furnished the usual central service facilities (synagogue, storehouse, grocery, nursery school, packing shed and auxiliary buildings). Medical facilities and a primary school were located in an adjoining *moshav*. The farm plan was based on the intensive cultivation of field crops: vegetables, potatoes, cotton, sugar beets and ground-nuts. Each family was allocated two parcels of irrigated land, one (immediately behind the house) of two and a half acres, and a second three acre plot. The settlers were also provided with simple agricultural tools, and every two families shared the use of a horse and wagon. Egg production and beef cattle have recently been introduced, and citrus groves have also been planted.

#### CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTIFICATION

In the Sultan's Morocco Jews were classified as *dhimmi*, the protected minorities, and were subject to restrictions and sometimes oppression. Under the French the old irksome restrictions were removed, yet Jews were not granted citizenship and equal rights. Whether "*dhimmi*" or "Moroccan-Jew," however, the Jews remained a minority group on the fringe of a Muslim majority. Moreover, no matter how integral Jews were to the social and economic system of old Morocco, or how some sought and gained membership in the new Moroccan state, most Jews lived under a shadow of uncertainty.

Immigration to Israel has of itself altered this condition: in Israel the immigrants become citizens in a Jewish society and policy. Many of the immigrants for the first time experienced participation within a nation. This shift from minority status to participation within a permanent majority, and from protégé to citizen, is a change of major importance.

Citizenship is, in the first place, a satisfying status. "I never knew how to raise tomatoes," a settler remarked. "I never worked in the sun before. In Morocco I had a store, and we ate well. But I feel free here. I'm not afraid." Citizenship lends dignity and status to the immigrants' new experience. The settlers imagine themselves as participants; they are concerned with the state's fate and feel part of its future. Moreover, they have no sense of physical disaster, no feeling of fear. On the contrary, they travel about their adopted land with freedom and ease. This, too, is a source of pleasure.



There are various correlations to the proposition of citizenship. The settlers see themselves not only as citizens, but also as Jews in a Jewish society. As such, they have a sense of intimacy and ease. Formality is typically assaulted; authority is often disregarded and aggressive displays between persons of different status is not uncommon (between clerks and clients, for example). The claims that the settlers feel are antagonistic to concepts of hierarchy; all are Jews and consequently all have equal rights and claims. The settlers tend to project this image upon their new social world: since all are Jews, it is expected that all will act accordingly. "Acting as Jews" may be translated to mean warm, permissive, aiding and yielding behavior. As they experience the new world, however, their expectations often become jarred. The settler's Israeli world is largely a universe of clerks and bureaus: their contacts tend to be with varied governmental and quasi-governmental bureaucratic systems. In many instances these meetings are characterized by ambivalence and status conflicts, as clerks tend to act as bureaucrats and not as "Jews." Most often a clerk's behavior is that of the objective, personally unconcerned official. Given the nature of their position bureaucrats typically reject the claims of personal interest that are thrust upon them: they are not "Jews," but part of a structure which cannot be bent by individual claims or personal misfortunes. They are part of an emotionless structure, and tend to act accordingly. In some cases, however, claims are accepted by officials, who then compromise their objectivity. The fact that the settlers are new immigrants, that they live in a *moshav* in the Negev, and that they are, willy-nilly, fulfilling national aspirations, may influence a clerk in altering his stance. Breaches of principle only lead to greater confusion and frustration, as the settlers become uncertain of their relations with clerks and bureaus. These contacts are emotionally charged and often disturbing. Not only do the bureaucratic systems seem comparatively inefficient ("The French were never like this; if you had an appointment with a French clerk he'd be certain to be on time"); the settlers' concept of a proper relation is one that their interlocutors are unable or unwilling to fulfill.

While "Jewishness" is no doubt an important sociological fact in Israel, it is conditioned by other types of identities. "Being Jewish" is assumed, and relegated to a background position. In an nation of many immigrants facts of origin, culture, and even appearance have become important social data, emphasizing and distinguishing the difference between men. Thus it is that if in Morocco the immigrants were "Jews," in Israel they become "Moroccans." They have, in effect, exchanged one identity for another. The settlers do in fact think of themselves as "Moroccans," and they are categorized by others in a similar way.

For the immigrant settlers "being a Moroccan" has a variety of implications. The settlers are strongly convinced that in choice situations they are likely to be discriminated against. "For us, Moroccans, there is only the *moshav*. When we came here they told us that we must go and become farm-

ers. But what happens when a Jew comes from Rumania? He goes to Tel-Aviv and gets a good job." The fact that power positions in the villagers' world are monopolized by Europeans adds to a conviction of favoritism. Others are thought to be prejudiced against Moroccans. The new identity is often a source of frustration and anger; whether or not, or to what degree, discrimination does in fact take place, the villagers are convinced of its factuality.

On the other hand, the new identity also means that the villagers typically choose the company of fellow Moroccans. Those who leave the village for a different *moshav* usually select a *moshav* of Moroccans. All of the marriages contracted by members of the village have been with Moroccans. Persons from the same town who were formerly only acquaintances become close friends. In the new land of ethnic difference the immigrants are drawn to persons like themselves. "Being a Moroccan" has led to new types of social alignment, and bears with it overtones of commonality and mutual sympathy.

#### CULTURAL ORIENTATION

Moroccan Jewry had in recent years become increasingly urban, as Jews from the old towns and villages flocked to the new French cities. For example, French Casablanca, non-existent in 1912, contained by 1947 forty per cent of the total Moroccan Jewish population. As individuals and families moved to the new cities they began to discard one way of life and assume another. Old folk arts and traditions tended to be forgotten. The settlers say, "My father and grandfather knew traditional dances, but I never learned them. My mother knew how to weave cloth, but my wife doesn't. We lived in Casablanca." While the degree of acculturation varied greatly, many of the migrants began to assume the culture of the city; movies and radios, the promenade and coffee house, manufactured goods and luxury items, became part of a new culture complex. These items had symbolic as well as instrumental value; they were part of the culture of the secular West, and embodied a new way of life. While most migrants to the cities did not become urban sophisticates, city life was valued and attractive.

It is paradoxical that, in Israel, this new city folk has been placed in small, rural villages. Earlier we noted that most of the settlers, while born in small villages and towns, had migrated to urban centers. For those settlers the cycle of migration has come full circle: from village to city, and then back to a village. The ruralization process has deeply affected these settlers. There are no opportunities for them to exercise the cultural forms of the city. There is no coffee house, no place for men to gather and chat. A movie arrives once a week if at all, and the movie hall is a temporary building, barren of furnishings. The settler who would "dress up" soon discovers that there is no place to go. The same faces are seen day after day. Sporadic attempts have been made to organize soccer matches or social dances, but these have invariably been short-lived. In brief, the cultural forms that many had begun to know

and value cannot be expressed in the village. What had been attractive and satisfying is now difficult or impossible to attain. Since the old village arts and traditions are forgotten, the range of cultural expression has become narrower. Ruralization has meant a diminishing of cultural forms.

The settlers' new farming role has made for similar restrictions. Bound now to crops and animals, the settlers cannot easily leave their work to travel or visit. An artisan or peddler in Morocco might leave his shop for days in order to attend a family fête; but a farmer who leaves his crops and animals untended suffers sorry consequences. Since patterns of visiting are well developed among the settlers, the difficulties of traveling are a source of frustration. The farming demands thus limit the settlers' chances for cultural expression.

There is of course a new and different tradition that might be assumed in place of the old—the ways and traditions of farming Israel. These customs have, however, only been partially adopted. Most of the male settlers now speak Hebrew; they are conversant in the language, if not fully at ease in it. The majority of women know it hardly at all. Only three families receive a Hebrew newspaper; the settlers are only partially aware of the daily events of Israel and the world. Almost each home has a radio, but the most popular programs are those broadcast in Arabic. Holidays and family events (a birth or marriage) are generally celebrated as of old, and not according to more secular Israeli traditions. No settler feels part of a political party, a movement or ideology; these are not truly understood, or, if known, imagined with deep cynicism. Culture is thus not "Israeli." New ways have not replaced the old. There are simply fewer chances to express the old.

While family fêtes and holidays are celebrated in traditional fashion, the settlers report an increasing sense of secularism. Except for the Sabbath and holidays there is only minimal synagogue attendance. A man may remove his hat when he goes to town, or play the radio on Sabbath. Whether or not religious practices have ceased, many of the settlers insist that the bonds of tradition have less meaning for them. Secularism is a process which had begun in Morocco. Paradoxically, however, immigration to a Jewish State appears to have widened the secular effects.

#### CULTURAL ITEMS AND TECHNIQUES

Moroccan Jewish culture shared many of the elements of Moroccan Muslim culture. In respect to dress, residence, language, as well as folk beliefs, both communities drew upon common traditions. French influence in Morocco opened new cultural horizons and both displaced and added cultural items. Immigration to Israel and settlement in a *moshav* have similarly altered the settlers' items of daily use. Comparing the settlers' past inventory of cultural items with the present reveals both continuity and change. The meeting of two

different cultural systems—Moroccan Jewish and Israeli—has resulted in the transfer and adoption of some items and techniques.

It is difficult to get accurate information regarding changes in diet, housing and home furnishings. Comparison is made difficult by the lack of accurate information on these elements as they existed in Morocco. As far as one is able to gather through interviews, however, the settlers' diet has not changed. That is, the immigrants continue to eat the same foods they ate in Morocco, but in much different proportions. There is no indication that new foods have been accepted. Non-familiar food items are simply not purchased in the village store, or during the weekly trips to market. On the other hand, some settlers have obtained seeds from Morocco and planted vegetables familiar to their diet which are not available in Israel. Similarly, some women regularly bake bread in outdoor earthen ovens rather than purchase the less "tasty" store-bread. Traditional tastes appear to have remained fixed.

While the range of desired foods has remained relatively constant, the villagers' ability to obtain these foods has changed. Some items, formerly more freely available, are now difficult to acquire. This is in particular true of meat and fish, much easier to obtain in a Moroccan town than in a *moshav* in the Negev. These items, formerly staples, have become luxuries. As a general rule, what is plentiful in the field is plentiful on the plate: the settlers eat more vegetables and more *couscous* than they did formerly. The settlers' diet has become more limited and repetitive.

The villagers' new homes differ markedly from their former dwellings. Each family now occupies a separate home containing two and sometimes three rooms; each house is furnished with running water and electricity. These dwellings are probably larger and airier than the homes most of the settlers occupied in Morocco. They allow a much greater degree of privacy. These changes are pleasing to the new settlers; while many complain of the diet, few voice complaints about the size of their homes. The construction of the homes do not, however, easily permit a married son to live together with his aged parents. Since sons are traditionally responsible for parents as they reach old age, those instances in which parents live together with married sons inevitably create places of tension.

The settlers are in general prepared and indeed eager to accept new technical innovations. The village *madrichim* are important models in this regard. Living in the village, their homes demonstrate new consumption items. Only a few families came to Israel with a radio; now almost each home boasts one. Traditional techniques of preserving food are being replaced by new systems: a significant number of families have recently purchased gas-plates, replacing the old system of cooking on kerosene burners. Several have recently purchased refrigerators, and it seems likely that others will soon make similar purchases. New production items have also been adopted. For example, several groups of settlers jointly purchased tractors and acquisition of other

agricultural equipment has also taken place. The demand for new types of consumption and production items is part of a process that began in Morocco. It is important to note, however, that in these matters the villagers' reference group is no longer Moroccan, but rather Israeli. That is, the settlers now want what other Israelis have or want: they too would have a motor-scooter and handsome clothing, a larger radio and a milking-machine. The settlers do not so much compare their living standard with Casablanca or Midalt as with Tel-Aviv or Beer Sheba. They look not so much to the old land as to the new.

### *Becoming a Farmer*

A subject of special interest is the acquisition of farming items and attitudes. Farming in Morocco, as was physical labor in general, was a Muslim monopoly. While those among the settlers who grew up in rural areas were familiar with animals and crops, and several of the younger men received agricultural training in Israeli schools, for most of the settlers a farmer's life is strikingly new and different.

The adjustment to farming involves a series of physical and psychological crises. The settlers were not accustomed to physical exertion. In time, however, their muscles became attuned to the demands of hoeing, sowing or picking. After several harvests they became accustomed to moving irrigation pipe or harvesting tomatoes. The physical adjustment was accomplished with relative ease. The psychological adjustment was much more complex, however; for in assuming a farming role the settlers need to re-orient their status image.

"Look at me now," a settler remarked one day as he returned from his fields. "What do you see? Not a Jew. A Jew wouldn't be covered with dirt, a Jew doesn't wear a torn shirt or shoes caked with mud. I'm an Arab now, not a Jew." Such cries of despair are frequently heard in the village. The settlers associate farming with Muslims; physical labor is for them synonymous with low status. The farming role does not bestow honor, but rather degrades what is held to be a man's proper condition. The settlers have no ideology of labor, no natural ties to soil and work. Quite the opposite is in fact true; physical labor is imagined to be damaging, work in the hot sun harmful. In becoming a farmer a man struggles with some of his most cherished notions. After five years of farming the struggle still is yet hard and painful.

There are other aspects to this crisis. Most men are used to working with or near others, or conversing while they toil. But much of the work in the fields is done independently. For some of the settlers this is a difficult adjustment. The farming pattern also imposes tensions. Tending crops is often an unending chore; to be successful in farming a settler must invest long hours in a multitude of tasks. The pace demands a reorganization of time. "In Morocco I would close my shop in the afternoon. If there were no customers I would sit and visit with friends. But here I get up in the morning

while it is still dark outside, and in the middle of the night I get out of bed to turn off the sprinklers. There is never any break." Life in Morocco may not have been so idyllic, and not all of the settlers work so consistently. Yet the unrelenting pace of farm work is a difficult aspect of the new life.

Growing crops requires a varied series of acts: seeds and fertilizer, hoeing and irrigating are part of a complex in which men invest their toil and skill in the hope of bountiful harvests. Moreover, the *moshav* system of cooperative farming demands complex financial calculations. Not all of the settlers have mastered the skills and not all understand the farming process. Many have yet to learn how to organize their work efficiently; they perform the new tasks in a clumsy fashion. Moreover, not all understand that good yields result from timely cultivation and an adequate spread of fertilizer. For example, some settlers irrigate their fields for two hours instead of the required four, or spread less than the necessary amounts of fertilizer; one presumably "saves money" by spreading less fertilizer, or by irrigating for shorter periods. In a sense, these settlers maintain a "peddler" relation to soil and crops. That inexact or improper farming practices result in low yields is not fully appreciated.

The degree of adaptation to farming varies greatly. Several factors are associated with success. Youth is an advantage, and the younger people are among the better farmers. The young, who are presumably strong, have an edge over those who are older and tire easily. The young settlers also have closer ties with the village *madrichim*; more "advanced" than their elders, they are responsive to suggestions and advice. Moreover, for the young the adjustment to physical labor is less of a crisis: they have fewer ties and memories with the older tradition.

A second factor associated with success in farming is membership in a large family or kinship group. A man with a large family is potentially able to mobilize many hands for farm work. Membership in a kinship group has similar advantages, since kinsmen may cooperate in performing the farm chores.

There are, of course, striking differences between persons falling within these broad categories; not all of the younger men have become successful farmers, and not all of the large family groups are able to maintain inner discipline and cooperation. Those who received agricultural or army training tend to make the most successful adjustment. Some fathers are able to control their children within the work system, while in other cases the children rebel. In order to maintain cooperation, parents need to establish a balance between their authority and direction on one hand, and the delegation of responsibility and reward on the other. Very few parents are able to achieve so delicate a balance.

Learning the new farming acts and attitudes is one of the most difficult aspects of the settlers' transition. Farming as a way of life has yet to take firm root. Most settlers find their lot hard and lacking in reward; there is no



inspiration or accepted mythology about a farmer's life. Most farm since they have no real alternative and some hope that if they are successful they will have sufficient funds to leave for the city. While there are some significant exceptions in this regard, most of the settlers have yet to absorb the new farming traditions.

### *Social Roles and Relations*

Wealth and ritual knowledge were traditional status criteria within the Moroccan Jewish communities. Deference and power were accorded the learned and wealthy, who held both formal and informal power positions. Age, too, was associated with respect. Immigration to Israel and settlement in a *moshav* has altered the traditional status system. Two complimentary processes of change may be observed: social leveling initially occurred and new criteria of social differentiation have subsequently emerged.

Few of the immigrants arrived in the village with any means; those who possessed capital quickly left the village. There was no eminent rabbi or other sacred specialist among the immigrants. Indeed, neither wealth nor religious knowledge seemed to have much reference to life in a Negev *moshav*. Since the immigrants had not formerly known one another, there were no apparent status marks that might guide their relations. Moreover, the settlement authorities recognized none of the traditional social distinctions: each settler received a house of the same size and a plot of land and tools equal to those of the others. Who a man had been before made no difference to the village *madrichim*: old and young; the immigrant who had been a respected merchant as well as he who had been a travelling artisan received equal treatment.

For a short period of time following the founding of the village the old prestige symbols retained their viability. For example, the first committee organized by the immigrants was dominated by older men who had held respected positions in Morocco. But the new symbols were quickly swept aside and replaced by new and different ones. Knowledge of Hebrew was the first new status (and, by implication, power) mark. Soon most of the men mastered the new language. Two other bases of differentiation then grew in importance and have since remained primary indices of social status: success in farming and leadership talents. Honor and prestige is granted to those who have successfully adapted to the farming demands, or to those who are able to influence others and manage affairs.

That these symbols of prestige have become dominant may be understood as result of the demands of the situation, and the conscious acts of the settlement authorities. The new farming life obviously places a premium upon physical strength. Moreover, the *madrichim* tend to reward the successful farmers; not only have those who succeed in farming received a greater income, they also tend to have closer relations with the former. This latter fact in itself lends prestige. The bewildering new life has also furnished an open

avenue for those who possess leadership talents or ambitions. Settlers with leadership abilities learned to gain the support of others; if they were moderate and cooperative, they also enjoyed the support and friendship of the *madrichim*. On the other hand, leadership might also be grasped by opposing the settlement authorities. Opposition is always a popular plank in the village, where it takes little effort to form factions among the discontented. This situation has also meant that the more aggressive among the settlers have seized positions of influence.

Status in the village is made formally apparent by membership in the elected village committee, the *vaad*. Being a *vaad* member is a symbol of prestige, in addition to the important benefits that accrue from participation in policy deliberations. The *vaad* has come to be dominated by the successful farmers and more aggressive leaders. Perhaps naturally, *vaad* members also tend to be younger persons. The older settlers have relinquished leadership posts and ambitions. The young are more physically able and they understand the new world better. Leadership roles are associated with those who have most successfully adapted to the new conditions and to those who possess native leadership talents.

In the old Morocco the nuclear and patrilineal extended family, the kinship group, devotional and work groups, were primarily forms of social relations. Males customarily held dominant positions, and female roles were limited to home and family. A father directed his married and unmarried sons in work tasks and maintained discipline within a joint residence unit. Kinsmen, in particular patrilineal kin, formed loose friendship and visiting groups, and joined together in moments of conflicts or crisis. Within the old community the synagogue was an important place of male gathering, and the institutions associated with the synagogue served important integrative functions. As is apparent from the earlier discussion, the French influence in Morocco placed these relationships under great strain. Migration and the accompanying urbanization and secularization brought a growing challenge to traditional norms. Young men entered new occupations and, upon marriage, formed new households. Women in increasing numbers entered the work force. Family tensions grew under the new conditions, as traditional obligations were less frequently fulfilled. Rapid migration splintered the kinship group, as kin became dispersed throughout various communities. Similarly, the trend toward secularization lessened the importance of the synagogue and associated groups. While the full dimensions of this development cannot be spelled out in this article, Moroccan Jewry may be said to have been in the midst of a severe social crisis.

If change and uncertainty characterized the Jewish community in Morocco, these processes have become intensified in Israel. The nuclear family continues to suffer disintegrating pressures and the extended family no longer plays its traditional functions. Better able to work, knowing the language and the

new ways better than their elders, children in the village often tend to challenge paternal authority. Old respect and deference relations are disregarded. The painful tragedy of immigrant generations is repeated: there are inevitable misunderstandings between father and son, mother and daughter, and the conflict born of differing ideas and ideals. There are also added problems of husband-wife relations, as women are often required to assume new production roles. Some women, now farm laborers and wage earners, challenge their husbands' authority. Although more stable relations characterize some families, in many instances these crises are unresolved.

Curiously, and of primary significance, quite the opposite has taken place in regard to the kinship group: the kin group, a social form which had become progressively weakened in Morocco, has flourished in the new situation. This process, in which a weakening social form has become "resurrected," implies certain paradoxes. Internal migration within Morocco dispersed kinsmen throughout the land and kinship ties became comparatively lax. Following immigration to Israel, however, kinsmen tended to seek one another out and cluster together. As was earlier noted, during the first year of the village's formation the original settlers encouraged their relatives to join them. In the new land, under new and strange conditions, they sought at least social familiarity. In some cases these kin had never before lived near one another, or had been separated for many years. In other instances the kinship ties were more fictive than real, as persons sought some recognizable pattern of relation. As a consequence of this process the village, at its inception a community of unrelated persons, became a *moshav* in which nearly each family had some relation, and two kin groups composed nearly half the population.

Once this had occurred, the structure of the *moshav* underwent immediate effects. Not only was the kinship group reconstituted but it also began to assume new social functions. Since the community was artificial, it was perhaps natural that kinsmen should assist and support each other. Kin tended to cooperate in work situations, and often became inter-visiting social groups. Most important, kinship assumed a political meaning. Village politics revolves about control of community-wide institutions, and pre-eminently, control of the *vaad*. Controlling the *vaad* involves not only prestige but organizational and financial advantages as well. With political control so advantageous, the kin groups became rival factions, each struggling with the other for power. Since membership in the *vaad* is based upon democratic election, the two large kinship groups had the advantage of size. Thus the "political history" of the village has involved a continual struggle between those two groups, who jockey for control by offering various promises to other families or groups of families. Political alliances are formed and reformed, always with one of the kinship groups at the center. Politics serves to reinforce the ties between kin. Kinship and the kin group have assumed new, essentially political functions.

This development has various implications. Other forms of social rela-

tionship—friendship groups, age groups, devotional groups—have become secondary in importance. While such groups exist in the village, family and kinship fill an increasingly wide series of functions. Moreover, insofar as the ties of kinship become magnified, it is increasingly difficult to base relationship upon universalistic criteria. For example, voting for village officers or on community issues tends to follow kinship lines and is not usually based upon more objective criteria. While universalistic types of ties may be nascent, they cannot prosper under the pressure of kinship obligations.

\* \* \* \* \*

That the developments reported in this study are not unique, is borne out by comparative research in other Moroccan villages. For example, the replacing of tradition status symbols by new criteria seems characteristic of other Moroccan *moshavim* as well. Although renowned religious figures are still accorded respect, success in farming and general leadership talents have typically become marks of status and power. Comparison also indicates that tendencies towards social leveling are powerful and that positions shift often and easily. Indeed, equality between persons and groups, and a rejection of hierarchy, seems to be an important motif in Moroccan Jewish culture. The phenomena of the regrouping kinsmen and the assumption by the kinship group of new social functions, are also characteristic of Moroccan villages. In other villages as well relatives sought out one another, or persons who chanced upon each other established "fictive" kinship ties. In other instances kinsmen migrated or settled as a unit, as, for example, in transplanted village groups. Not only have kinsmen tended to cluster together, but that the kinship group assumes political functions within the *moshav* structure seems an almost universal phenomenon. With its traditions of social warmth and assistance, the kin group seems well suited to the exigencies of the new situation, and to the cooperative demands of the *moshav*. This development is also characteristic of other ethnic groups.

The adoption by the settlers of new cultural items is also typical of other villages. This tendency is valid both for formerly urban and rural groups. On the other hand, not all groups of Moroccan settlers have undergone a process of cultural narrowing as a consequence of their *moshav* experience. This shift is typical of settlers from urban areas, but not to communities settled by immigrants from rural Moroccan regions. For the latter groups the transfer from one village setting to another has not had the cultural implications described in this study.

Comparing the settlers' past with their present indicates a near revolution in living. The changes in identity and role, in cultural items and forms, are deep and pervasive. The community is still artificial and fragile. The village's small size means that its character may change very rapidly. Just as the village changed from a community of unrelated persons to a village dominated by kinship ties, population transfers may in the future again alter the village's

social structure. In regard to the villagers new consumption horizon, it is likely that, as they adapt more successfully to farming and as their incomes increase, the demands for new consumption items will increase apace. This development is largely dependent upon general economic conditions, however, and is consequently difficult to predict. (One result of the general settlement project has been a flooding of the Israeli market with agricultural produce; while export and industrial crop programs may ultimately solve the problems of overproduction, Israeli agriculture is now in the midst of a difficult economic crisis.) What form the village status system will ultimately take, or whether the kinship groups will remain dominant, depends not only upon internal social processes but also on the nature of the village's relations with outside controlling agencies. The village is highly dependent, and daily life is affected by administrative decisions taken outside the community. For example, changes in the system of purchasing and marketing would alter social relations in the village.

One imagines, too, that as the school-trained young receive army training and return to the village the community's social and cultural character will be significantly different. This possibility once again raises the issue of immigrant absorption. Israel is an immigrant-created society, including new and old immigrants from both the West and Middle Eastern lands. Although the dominant culture in Israel is European (one is tempted to say "Euro-American") and the direction of cultural change is towards Westernization, ethnic group separatism characterizes Israeli society. This conclusion has strong historic precedents: both Yemenites and Kurds who immigrated to the country several generations ago continue to maintain a distinct communal identity. Slogans to the contrary, total absorption, the "intermixing of ethnic groups," does not seem to be rapidly taking place. The brief experience of the Moroccan immigrants reported in this study indicates that while some important cultural universals have emerged—the use of Hebrew, the responsibilities of citizenship, a desire for Western items and techniques—broad areas of cultural difference are maintained. Not only is the Israeli pattern one of ethnic groups, but these groups have also assumed a characteristic social stratification. Just as in the village, so, in general, power and prestige are associated with Europeans. The contribution of an ethnic group society, or the development of a society based upon other criteria, depends upon economic development, the success of socializing institutions such as the schools and army and changes in thinking and relating between different immigrant groups.

## DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER

### Comment and Chronology

#### The Turkish and Previous

##### *Crises de Régime*

The overthrow by the Turkish military of the Bayar-Menderes régime on May 27, 1960, was the latest of a striking number of such events in the Middle East in recent years. The instances vary greatly in their apparent origins but it is an interesting thing to note that the *coups* (individual assassinations aside) have occurred, all of them, in countries which have assayed a parliamentary and, more or less, Western style of democratic government. In fact, a *coup* or the attempt at a *coup*, has occurred in all except one of the countries with which this *Journal* deals, which has also made some effort at such a form of government. The exception is Israel, whose population is not Middle Eastern, but European, by origin of the political élite and by progressive acculturation of the rest. Other exceptions, more apparent than real, are considered below. The several countries which have become independent in the last year or so and those not yet independent are not considered at all.

The first of such *coups* was in Syria, March 1949. The military under Husni Za'im overthrew Shukri al-Quwwatli and Khalid al-'Azm. In 1954 there was a reversion to civilian and parliamentary rule, which lasted less than four years. In 1958 Syrians turned to Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir and the creation of the United Arab Republic for the solution of their problems.

'Abd al-Nasir had been the moving spirit of the second of these overthrows in Egypt in the Summer of 1952. What he and the Free Officers touched crumbled so rapidly and so completely that the significance of the kind of change the *coup* represented was largely lost at the time. By hindsight, we may see that a politically-minded military, largely middle or lower class by origin, has begun to take the

place of a land-owning or commercial aristocracy, whether headed by a monarch or by a president selected from this latter number.

In Jordan, in April 1957, there was an attempt on the part of sections of the military to do the same thing. The attempt failed and the difference between this and the Egyptian case lay largely in the character of the monarch. Husayn was no Faruq and reassembled around him enough of the army to put down rebellion. Purges of the army have continued since.

Nineteen fifty-eight was the year of three such *coups* and another attempt at a forceful overthrow. Iraq's nominally constitutional and parliamentary régime, actually an oligarchy, was also turned out by the kind of army group that had carried out the Egyptian revolution. A major difference between the two is the social distance the new Iraqi government has traveled since July 1958.

In the Fall of 1958, Pakistan and Sudan had bloodless turnovers to a military régime. In both cases, it was the army command itself (rather than a "society" of comparatively junior officers) which assumed control. In Pakistan it was the President who "invited" the military to form a new government and it is generally believed that the Sudanese Premier did the same to his old colleagues in the high command.

Lebanon is always different. There a purely political struggle between opposition and government led to armed warfare between paramilitary factions of each, while the army remained almost a passive onlooker. The country turned to the head of this army for its President at the end of the crisis but did so by the regular constitutional means. Another difference is that General Fu'ad Shihab, far from being one of the "new men", stands at the summit of the old Lebanese aristocracy.

In May of this year, another officer's group



brought down an elected parliamentary government. The Turkish officers acted when it seemed to them that the ruling party was about to stifle any remaining manifestations of opposition to its policies. The military have undertaken to retire from governing the country as soon as new elections have taken place. No date has been set for these elections, but many observers think that, in the Spring of 1961, such elections will be held.

Three other countries of the area have constitutions and parliaments organized in styles borrowed largely from the West, but in each of them one personality, rather than the apparent system, is the dominant factor in its political life. In Tunisia the constitution-making process was tailored to the pre-existent position of President Habib Bourguiba (Bourguiba). Furthermore, the constitution is little more than a year old.

Libya has a federal constitution, drafted with the help of United Nations experts, which corresponds to the physical facts of the country

in the degree of autonomy it gives to the three disparate provinces. But, again, it is the figure of King Muhammad Idris which is central to Libya's political existence.

Iran's constitutional system, more than fifty years old, would seem to be the greatest exception to what has been outlined above as a trend. But the system has been in desuetude over the greater part of the period and the *Majlis* has almost always been the instrument of the Shah. Muhammad Reza Shah, if not by the same methods, has largely continued the personal rule of his father. It is also of interest to note that Iran has shared with Ethiopia and Morocco the *mystique* of an imperial tradition, which has, so far, not permitted another symbol to gain overriding acceptance. Also, that, in the same three countries, wider public participation in the affairs of the state has been largely a matter of the personal schedule of the monarch.

Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Afghanistan, under personal rule, range from few to none in the modalities of Western-style government.

# Chronology

March 16, 1960—June 15, 1960

## General

1960

*Mar. 22:* The Arab League celebrated its 15th anniversary by opening a new \$3 million Secretariat headquarters in Cairo.

*Mar. 23:* In Beirut, Minister of Economy, Philip Taqla, said that Lebanon did not see any need for revising the status of the Arab League.

*Mar. 24:* Hasunah's call for confederation provoked further commentary in the Beirut press. A member of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies urged the government to demand that Hasunah be relieved of his post and proposed that Lebanon withdraw from the League.

*Mar. 29:* The British House of Commons, by 248 to 171 votes, rejected a member's attempt to introduce a bill which would set up a commission of inquiry into the Anglo-French landing in Egypt in 1956.

*Mar. 31:* The Council of the League of Arab States held its 33rd regular session.

*Apr. 2:* The Arab League Council denounced the French atomic test in the Sahara.

*Apr. 3:* The Economic Committee of CENTO met in Tehran to study a comprehensive report on its economic program. Observers in Ankara, where the report was drafted, noted a new tone of urgency in the discussions and in the recommendations of the report itself.

*Apr. 5:* Aramco was accused by the American Jewish Congress of using questionnaires "that would make the Nuremberg laws look like a Boy Scout Manual" to weed out Jews from among employment applicants.

The Minister of Public Works of Lebanon said that his country would not support an Arab League recommendation of an economic boycott of France.

*Apr. 7:* Arab League sources said that the UAR, Jordan and Saudi Arabia had conveyed their support of the economic boycott measures to freeze French assets while Morocco and Lebanon opposed the step.

*Apr. 8:* Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld reproved Cairo for having confiscated an Israeli cargo at the entrance of the Suez Canal, saying

that the action "goes against" the principles of the UN.

*Apr. 11:* The 2nd Arab Dental Conference in Beirut was opened by Prime Minister Karami. About 500 Arab, Iranian, Greek, Turkish and US dentists attended.

*Apr. 17:* Crude oil output in the free world during January reached over 10 million barrels a day, with a major part of the expansion taking place in the Middle East, it was reported in London.

*Apr. 13:* The Egyptian ship *Cleopatra* was picketed by New York dockers.

*Apr. 18:* It was learned that dock workers' unions at the main harbors of the UAR and along the Suez Canal had announced plans to retaliate against the boycott of the *Cleopatra* by a similar boycott of all US ships.

*Apr. 21:* State Department officials in Washington said that the picketing of the *Cleopatra* was "embarrassing" the conduct of US foreign relations and expressed concern about the detrimental effect of counter-boycott measures on US shipping.

*Apr. 22:* The International Federation of Arab Workers announced their ultimatum to picket US ships in Arab ports if the New York picketing did not stop in a week.

*Apr. 23:* A Federal judge refused to order a halt in the picketing of the *Cleopatra*.

*Apr. 25:* Sudan and Afghanistan announced boycotts on the imports of all South African goods as a protest against apartheid policies.

*Apr. 26:* Trade union leaders in Cairo announced that an Arab boycott of all US shipping would begin on April 29 if the New York picketing was not halted. For the third time the Federal courts refused to halt the picketing at New York.

*Apr. 28:* The US Senate overrode administration opposition to write into President Eisenhower's \$4,145,600,000 foreign aid bill an amendment aimed at the UAR's blockade of Israeli shipping.

*Apr. 29:* Arab port workers began boycotting American ships at midnight.

By a vote of 45 to 25 the US Senate gave the President discretionary authority to withhold assistance from nations that obstruct free navigation of international waterways.

*Apr. 30:* In Tehran, the CENTO denounced Soviet propaganda campaigns in Iran and Pakistan as "inconsistent with the declared purpose" of a relaxation of international tensions.

## Aden

1960

May 2: Close to 50,000 tons of US agricultural surplus destined for the UAR were rerouted to other Mediterranean ports, maritime sources in New York reported.

NATO representatives met in Ankara.

May 3: The White House appealed directly to AFL-CIO President George Meany to seek a solution to end the New York picketing of the *Cleopatra*.

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO pledged its full support to its maritime unions despite the White House appeal for them to halt the picketing.

The US Senate confirmed its earlier decision to empower President Eisenhower to cut off aid to the UAR as long as it restricted Israeli commerce.

May 5: Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon conferred with AFL-CIO representative, Arthur J. Goldberg, on possible ways of ending the picketing.

May 6: The picketing of the *Cleopatra* was halted on the intervention of the State Department. Arabs hailed the measure as a victory, and a defeat for international Zionism.

The 14th annual conference of the Middle East Institute was held in Washington. The topic of discussion centered on "Arab Nationalism—Paths and Obstacles to Fulfillment."

May 9: The *Cleopatra* was unloaded.

May 12: The 3rd World Congress of the International Federation of Petroleum Workers (IFPW) met and was highlighted by a clash between the UAR delegate and the Israeli delegate.

May 13: The IFPW Congress ended after having passed by almost unanimous vote a resolution "in favor of lifting all restrictions on the free transport of petroleum and other products of world trade under international law."

May 27: The Atlantic Refining Company favorably received Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Tariki's international prorogation of oil production plan.

May 28: Authoritative sources in Washington said that the House Banking Committee will approve the charter of the billion-dollar International Development Association next week without an anti-Arab amendment.

May 31: UNEF Commander P. S. Gyani presented medals to members of the Brazilian battalion serving with the force.

June 4: The Middle East News Agency quoted the Mecca radio to have said that 130 Muslim pilgrims died of old age or sunstroke since the beginning of the 5-day Muslim holiday of 'Id al-Adha.

June 8: It was learned that the US Senate Foreign Relations staff study concluded that the tide of political influence had turned against the Soviet bloc and in favor of the West in the Middle East.

June 12: Vice-president Nixon said in a letter published today that the US, while seeking to promote a "mutually acceptable" Arab-Israeli settlement, must keep on pressing to open the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping and to protect American interests from Arab boycott and blacklisting.

Mar. 16: Mr. Harold Watkinson, Britain's Minister of Defense, who is on a visit to British bases in the Middle East, said in Aden that it was the intention of the British government "to keep our positions strong" in Aden.

Mar. 23: It was reported that representatives of BP and the employees' union are understood to have been in direct contact for nearly 10 days and an early settlement of the 7-week-old refinery dispute is forecast.

Mar. 24: The Adenese Trade Union Congress called 14,000 men out on a 24-hour token strike in sympathy with the BP workers.

Apr. 5: Travelers from Aden reported in Cairo that British forces there are concentrating on heading off large-scale arms smuggling into Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea.

Apr. 13: The negotiations between Petroleum Concessions Ltd. and the Sultanates of Qu'ayti and Kathiri were resumed and broken off on the same day. A joint communiqué from the two Sultanates said that they had now come to an end and that arrangements would be made by the two governments to invite bids from international oil companies for concessions in the Thamud area. The failure of the talks was attributed by the communiqué to the rejection by the company of any amendment to its draft agreement.

Apr. 18: Muhammad 'Abd al-Ghanim, Deputy Director of Education in Aden, said in Amman that the Prime Minister of Jordan had approved a plan to recruit Jordanian teachers of both sexes for Aden.

Apr. 19: The Aden Trade Unions Congress was reported to have set up a special committee to consider measures to be taken by dock workers against American ships calling there.

Apr. 20: While the refinery workers' strike continued the Aden Trade Unions Congress was reported to have asked FALU to use its good offices to bring about a settlement of the dispute. FALU, it was understood, was preparing to send to Aden an expert in oil affairs and collective bargaining methods.

Apr. 26: A contract for the sale of 3 Avro jet prop airliners, costing £800,000, to Aden Airways, an associate of BOAC, was signed in London. The planes are scheduled to be delivered in the summer of 1962.

June 8: A report from Cairo stated that ICATU has decided to "intervene" in the dispute between BP and the Aden refinery workers.

## Afghanistan

(See also, General, Pakistan)

1960

Mar. 17: Premier Muhammad Da'ud Khan and party arrived in Tehran for a 3-day official visit.

Apr. 18: Mr. Koca Popovic, secretary of state for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia, arrived in Kabul for a 5-day visit.

Apr. 21: A ban on the sale and purchase of South African goods in Afghanistan was issued by the Ministry of Commerce in Afghanistan.

Apr. 22: At the conclusion of Mr. Popovic's visit, a joint communiqué was issued by Afghanistan and Mr. Popovic relating to the discussions they had regarding international problems and the relations between the two countries.

Apr. 25: Former King Amanullah was reported to have died in a Zurich clinic at the age of 68.

May 4: About 300 (Muran?) tribesmen of Afghanistan and their families have fled into Pakistan because of alleged maltreatment by some Afghan government officials, it was reported.

May 9: Antropov, the Soviet Minister of Geology, and a group of Soviet officials arrived in Kabul to hold talks with the oil and mineral departments. It is also reported that the minister will call on Prime Minister Muhammad Da'ud.

May 10: The invitation of the Soviet cultural administration for a group of Afghan artists to visit the Soviet Union has been accepted and 15 Afghan artists will leave sometime in June, it was learned.

May 12: Foreign Minister Muhammad Na'im said that Afghanistan would lodge a protest with the US and Pakistan if an investigation showed that the US U-2 plane shot down by the Soviets had flown over Afghan territory.

Soviet technicians have discovered oil in Afghanistan, estimated to have reserves of about 300,000,000 barrels, in the area north of the Hindu Kush mountains.

May 16: Newspapers in Kabul carried commentaries on the press conference by Mr. Shirzad, the Afghan minister of commerce, about the difficulties and obstacles created by Pakistan for Afghanistan transit trade. The papers have condemned the attitude of Pakistan as an attempt to exert economic pressure on Afghanistan.

Mr. Antropov and his companions left Kabul.

May 19: The Kabul press discussed the protest lodged by the Afghan government to the ambassador of Pakistan and the chargé d'affaires of the US Embassy at the court of Kabul, calling the U-2 flight over Afghan air space an act of aggression and not in keeping with international conventions.

May 21: Prime Minister Muhammad Da'ud arrived in Kabul from the Soviet Union.

## Algeria

(See also, General, Iraq, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia)

1960

Mar. 22: An office to recruit Arab volunteers to fight in the Algerian rebellion against France is being opened in Cairo, it was reported.

The Cabinet set May 29 as the date for elections of departmental general councils in Algeria.

Mar. 26: The Paris evening paper *La Croix* was seized on its arrival in Algiers for its republication of an article printed in *Le Monde* two days ago concerning an Algiers inquiry.

Apr. 3: Karim Bilqasim, al-Hafiz Bussuf, and Dr. Ahmad Francis left Cairo for Tripoli to join Prime Minister Farhat 'Abbas at a special cabinet meeting of the Provisional Government concerning the current Algerian situation, a spokesman announced.

Lieut. Col. Ait Mahdi took command of a French infantry regiment operating in the Oran sector against guerrilla fighters.

Apr. 4: The special cabinet meeting opened in Tripoli to discuss President de Gaulle's demand for a ceasefire without prior political negotiations.

Apr. 6: French Army headquarters in Algeria announced the withdrawal of the Tenth Paratroop Division from Kabylia.

Pierre Messmer, Minister of the Armed Forces, predicted in Paris that the Algerian rebels would soon attack the French fortified line along the Tunisian frontier.

Apr. 7: A former First Secretary in the Algerian nationalists' Ministry of External Affairs at Tunis said in Algiers that he had deserted the Provisional Government because the rebels refused to make peace with President de Gaulle.

Apr. 8: France announced an electoral decree under which Muslims will gain control of all 13 Algerian departmental assemblies in the local elections.

Apr. 9: French troops killed 50 Muslim insurgents in a 24-hour battle in western Algeria, military sources in Algiers said; 10 more were killed, 4 captured in another clash.

Apr. 11: The Provisional Government of Algeria announced in Tunis that it was ready to accept volunteers from any country to help wage the war against France in Algeria.

US specialists on African affairs considered the announcement that the Algerian nationalists would accept volunteers from other countries as designed for psychological effect.

Premier Michel Debré came to Algeria for a 3-day visit amid signs that the nationalist rebels had planned to greet him with terrorist attacks.

Apr. 12: Premier Debré declared in a broadcast that Algeria would be partitioned if a majority of Algerians voted for independence.

Arab diplomats in Washington were reported

to expect a new wave of violence in Algeria in view of recent events.

**Apr. 13:** The Algerian Provisional Government announced in Cairo that 761 French soldiers had been killed and 405 wounded in Algeria in clashes with the rebels between April 4 and 12.

Premier Debré cancelled his visit in Orléansville due to heavy rain, and returned to Paris.

**Apr. 14:** *Al Wabdash* of Damascus reported that 4,000 Syrians "all of long military experience and skill" had expressed their desire to volunteer for service in the "Algerian liberation army."

**Apr. 15:** It was announced that the "people's resistance" organization, which played a big part in the 1958 Lebanese insurrection, had decided to register volunteers in Lebanon for the "liberation of Algeria."

**Apr. 16:** It was reported in Algeria that French commanders in Algeria are giving serious consideration to the possibility that large-scale fighting, involving perhaps thousands of nationalist rebel soldiers, may break out along the Tunisian border.

**Apr. 17:** A delegation from the Algerian Provisional Government arrived in Baghdad.

**Apr. 18:** General 'Abd al-Karim Qasim had a 4-hour meeting with the Algerian Provisional Government delegation to discuss, among other things, money. The Baghdad radio reported that General Qasim told the delegation Iraq would maintain financial and moral support for Algeria until the country was liberated and attained complete independence.

**Apr. 19:** The Foreign Ministry of the Provisional Government announced in Cairo that the government had decided to send a ministerial delegation to China for talks with the Communist leaders there.

**Apr. 20:** Algerian nationalist rebels stationed in Tunisia and Morocco have repeatedly shelled French positions on both borders during the last 2 days, a French army spokesman said in Algiers.

Reports from Algiers said that a new political movement advocating the permanent integration of Algeria as part of France.

**Apr. 22:** A French military spokesman reported that unusually heavy fighting had been taking place during the last 48 hours in most parts of Algeria.

**Apr. 23:** Lieut. Gen. Jean Crépin took over as the new French Commander in Chief in Algeria.

Massali Haji, leader of the Algerian National Movement, told *Le Figaro* in an interview that he was ready to have talks with the rival insurgent National Liberation Front on a cease-fire and self-determination for Algeria.

**May 1:** Deputy Premier Karim Bilqasim had talks with Marshal Ho Lung, Deputy Prime Minister of Communist China, in Peking.

**May 2:** Marshal Ho Lung was quoted to say that "650 million Chinese people will resolutely support the Algerian people's national liberation struggle to the very end."

**May 3:** An Algerian Nationalist spokesman denied a report in *Newsweek* that former US servicemen were being recruited to fight the French in Algeria. The report said Negroes were being approached.

**May 6:** Algerian rebels laid before the Afro-Asian nations in the UN a complaint that France had failed to observe the Geneva convention with respect to the fighting in North Africa.

**May 7:** A showdown was seen on the Algerian departmental elections as the nationalists and European extremists intensified their campaign to make the Muslim voters boycott the elections.

**May 9:** The French army announced that 15 French soldiers had been killed and 30 wounded in a week-end battle near the Moroccan border.

**May 10:** The delegation headed by Karim Bilqasim arrived in North Korea after touring Communist China.

**May 12:** Extremists urged European settlers of Algiers to turn the anniversary of their uprising May 13, 1958, into a city-wide demonstration of opposition to President de Gaulle.

In a radio broadcast, Prime Minister Farhat 'Abbas called on Algerians to "say no to electoral prefabrication" and added: "No reason is valid for us to associate ourselves with the perfidious game of the enemy."

**May 14:** The campaign for the Algeria-wide departmental election was declared open.

Farhat 'Abbas arrived in Morocco with Muhammad Yazid, his Information Minister.

**May 15:** An appeal signed by leaders of the "Mouvement Populaire" has called for Moroccan volunteers "to fight by the side of their brethren of the Algerian national liberation army." It opened its offices to enroll volunteers.

**May 17:** Algerian nationalist messages to President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan published in Rabat accused the US and Britain of aiding France in the 5-year-old Algerian war. A message to Premier Khrushchev told him that any move he deemed proper to shorten the war would be appreciated.

Algerian gun emplacements on Tunisian territory were submitted to "vigorous shelling by French planes and artillery."

**May 19:** Ben Mahmud, a Muslim supporter of President de Gaulle who had announced his candidacy for the coming departmental election, was killed by nationalist terrorists at Mostaganem in Western Algeria.

**May 20:** The French administration lifted censorship of newspapers in Algeria for the duration of the campaign for the departmental elections.

Sayyid Bilqasim thanked Communist China for giving his people unspecified "tangible aid," on the departure of his delegation from Peking.

**May 21:** French officials in Algiers asserted that the number of candidates who had decided to present themselves in the coming departmental elections was "far higher" than they had dared to expect. The registration of candidates showed 242 lists

- composed of 1,028 Muslim and European candidates, official figures disclosed.
- May 23:** The French army helped distribute posters in a drive to get out the vote for the elections.
- May 25:** It was reported in Algiers that French planes and artillery have intervened on an "important" scale during the last two days near the Tunisian border.
- May 27:** The 3-day voting period began in Algeria; a good turnout was reported in Kabylia cantons.
- May 28:** Algerian rebels mounted a campaign of terror marked by 19 political murders since April 1, it was reported. Voting began in Birtouta under the protection of French soldiers while in Oran nationalists staged 3 attacks, killing a Muslim candidate. Similar attacks occurred in Sidi-bel-Abbès and Mostaganem.
- May 30:** Candidates pledged to support President de Gaulle's policy won 298 of the 452 seats in the departmental elections. Nearly 60 per cent of the voters went to the polls.
- June 1:** A move to free Pierre Lagailarde, who won a seat in the last elections, was rejected by the National Assembly.
- June 7:** French intelligence services were reliably reported to have forged and distributed 3 editions of the Algerian nationalists' principal publication, *Al-Mujahid*, to make known a damaging but genuine document adopted by the nationalist leaders.
- June 11:** Alain de Sérigny, editor and owner of the right-wing newspaper *l'Echo d'Alger*, was released from jail on provisional liberty by a decision of the Paris appeal court.
- The French government forbade a meeting in support of seeking Algerian peace by negotiation with the rebels and announced the arrest of a network of French students working for the rebel organization.
- June 13:** Eight members of the Algerian Communist party went on trial in Algiers on charges of having given aid to the nationalist rebellion.
- June 14:** In Paris, President de Gaulle renewed and clarified his offer to seek an "honorable" peace with the leaders of the rebellion in Algeria and guarantee them full participation in a future political settlement.
- June 15:** Three leaders of the banned Algerian Communist party were sentenced by a military court to 20 years' hard labor.
- when a report from Julian Amery had been considered by the British government.
- Mar. 29:** Archbishop Makarios received an AKEL delegation which he briefed on the course of the British-Cyprus talks on the question of bases.
- Mar. 30:** The political office of AKEL has issued a statement on the British bases question, stressing that it gives unlimited support to every effort by the president and vice-president toward a reduction of the extent of the area of the bases, it was learned.
- Apr. 2:** Archbishop Makarios walked out of talks with the British after only 45 minutes. His action is reported to have come as resentment mounted among the Greek Cypriotes over their postponed independence.
- Apr. 3:** Disagreement continued to jeopardize settlement of the bases issue. Archbishop Makarios reportedly plans to reject Dr. Kuchuk's compromise proposal that Britain have a sovereign area of 100 sq. miles.
- Apr. 6:** The draft Constitution for the Republic-to-be of Cyprus was signed in Nicosia by representatives of the Turkish and Greek governments, Greek and Turkish Cypriotes, and the neutral legal advisor, Professor Marcel Bridel of Switzerland.
- Apr. 8:** A crucial meeting averted a breakdown in the bases negotiations, it was reported. "Some progress" had been made and the atmosphere had been cordial, it was learned.
- Apr. 21:** Hopes for an early settlement of the bases issue rose as negotiators met twice to speed discussion. Dr. Kuchuk expressed the belief that agreement could be reached before the end of the month.
- Apr. 23:** A masked gang raided the Greek Cypriote newspaper *Ethniki* and smashed the type on pages about to go to press. The newspaper has criticized Archbishop Makarios.
- Apr. 25:** Antonios Pharmakides, editor of 2 Greek Cypriote newspapers, was attacked and kidnapped. Greek and English-language newspapers have decided to stage a 24-hour strike in protest as police made an island-wide search, it was learned.
- Apr. 26:** In an interview in his office in Nicosia, Dr. Kuchuk asserted that Cypriotes of Greek origin were in closer harmony than they had been for 5 years.
- Apr. 29:** Archbishop Makarios asserted that the 2 bases Britain would retain must revert to the independent republic of Cyprus when the British feel they no longer needed them. Britain has insisted that she must retain the power to do with the bases what she will.
- May 1:** Governor Foot declared that further delay "in the talks on Cyprus' independence would be useless and damaging." He urged that the talks should be brought to an end.
- May 12:** An official booklet on the new Cyprus government service, which underscores strict regard to the Zurich proportion of 70 to 30 between Greeks and Turks, was issued.

## Cyprus

1960

- Mar. 17:** Negotiators on the British bases adjourned their talks.
- Mar. 23:** The negotiators met at Government House and renewed talks on the British bases. A spokesman disclosed that no new issues were covered and he explained that "bigger issues" would be covered



Archbishop Makarios questioned the Turkish proposal with respect to the ratio of 70 to 30 in the civil service, which Turkey insists should be implemented immediately in all salary scales and departments.

**May 17:** Archbishop Makarios stated that the bases talks have been suspended and that they will not be resumed unless the British government changes its views. Dr. Kuchuk was reported to have refuted this assertion and pointed out that implementation of the Zurich and London agreements without delay was a necessity.

**May 18:** The mixed council held a special meeting for the purpose of examining the unemployment problem. Archbishop Makarios did not attend.

**May 26:** Cyprus' trade unions staged a one-day strike in protest against what is regarded as British indifference to the island's crisis and grave unemployment problem.

**June 8:** It was announced that Dr. Willard L. Thorp, Director of the Merrill Center for Economics and Professor of Economics at Amherst College, will head an economic survey mission to Cyprus under the UN program of technical assistance.

## Ethiopia and the Somalilands

1960

**Mar. 26:** Ethiopia and the Soviet Union signed an agreement in Addis Ababa under the terms of an economic aid loan recently granted to Ethiopia. The first project will be the building of an oil refinery in the Red Sea port of Assab.

**Mar. 29:** Emperor Haile Selassie contributed \$11,200 for the relief of the survivors of the Africans slain in recent riots in South Africa.

**Apr. 2:** The *Ethiopian Herald* criticized France's second atomic explosion in the Sahara.

**Apr. 6:** The biggest drop in the world record of louse-borne typhus cases in 1959 was noted in Ethiopia—4,479 in 1958 and 3,964 in 1959, the WHO reported.

**Apr. 15:** In an African Day radio broadcast, Emperor Haile Selassie denounced racialism and called for the freeing of Africa from imperialism.

**May 2:** A 6-man Somaliland delegation led by Sir Douglas Hall, the governor, and Muhammad Ibrahim Egal, Minister of Local Government, began constitutional talks with Mr. Iain Macleod, the British Colonial Secretary, in London.

**May 3:** Ethiopia's first big source of hydro-electric power, the Kaka dam on the Awash river, which has been completed, was officially inaugurated by the Emperor.

**May 12:** King Husayn of Jordan, accompanied by 12 senior military and civil officials, arrived in Addis Ababa for a 4-day state visit.

President Nasir received the Somali nationalist leader, Ahmad Shaykh Musa, a chief advocate of Pan-Somali unity.

It was announced in London that the British Colonial Office and the delegation of ministers from Somaliland have set June 26 for the protectorate's independence.

**May 24:** British Somaliland will be governed by an executive council of 4 ministers and 34 legislators when it becomes independent, it was disclosed. The White Paper revealed further details on the form of government, and the executive council will be headed by Prime Minister Muhammad Haji Ibrahim Egal, it was announced.

**May 26:** A Soviet trade fair was officially opened by Emperor Haile Selassie in Addis Ababa.

**June 8:** The government of French Somaliland resigned after a special session of the Territorial Assembly expressed lack of confidence in the regime by 21 votes to 8. There was one abstention.

**June 11:** It was announced that delegates from 11 independent states will hold their second conference on June 14. Although the agenda has not been announced, it was reported that the discussions will include the Algerian question, close economic and cultural ties among African countries, and French atomic explosions in the Sahara.

**June 14:** Addressing a conference of 100 delegates from 11 independent African countries, Emperor Haile Selassie pleaded for greater African unity, denounced the shootings of Africans in South Africa, and deplored the breakdown of the summit talks.

## Iran

(See also, Jordan)

1960

**Mar. 16:** Addressing an ECAFE meeting in Bangkok, the Minister of Commerce Hasan 'Ali Mansur told the delegates that Iran would invite private capital to develop new discoveries like the Sarajah oil and gas field.

**Mar. 17:** Prime Minister Muhammad Da'ud Khan of Afghanistan arrived in Tehran for a 3-day visit where he will hold talks on relations between his country and Iran with the Shah and Prime Minister Iqbal.

**Mar. 20:** Royal court sources confirmed that Queen Farah was expecting a child.

**Mar. 21:** Iran's import regulations started, and while the quota lists are largely unchanged, the list of prohibited imports is increased (both to restrict imports and to protect local industries) and there is also an increase in the number of commodities subject to Commercial Benefit Tax.

**Apr. 4:** King Husayn of Jordan arrived in Tehran for a 10-day state visit.

## Iraq

(See also, Morocco, UAR)

## 1960

Apr. 24: An earthquake struck the city of Lar in southern Iran causing heavy casualties and damage, official reports reaching Tehran said.

Apr. 25: It was reported that more than 200 dead, mostly women and children, were recovered from the wreckage of Lar.

Apr. 26: A USN plane delivered medical supplies to Lar. Original Iranian Red Cross estimates placed at 1,500 deaths were downgraded to about 400 dead and 100 more bodies possibly in the rubble.

Apr. 27: It was reported that the threat of an epidemic hangs over the survivors of the earthquake.

Apr. 29: Heavy rain brought a threat of floods to Lar after tremors shook the town for the third consecutive day. About 12,000 persons made homeless by the earthquake are still in the area, many without tents, it was reported.

May 4: The Iranian army prosecutor announced that 5 members of the outlawed Tudeh (Communist) party were executed by a firing squad for plotting to overthrow the régime of Shah Muhammad Riza Pahlavi.

May 11: Shah Muhammad Riza Pahlavi arrived in Brussels for a 3-day visit.

May 15: On his return to London following a 16-day official visit to Iran and Iraq, Mr. F. J. Erroll, Minister of State, British Board of Trade, spoke of trade opportunities in Iran. He had long talks with Minister of Commerce Hasan 'Ali Mansur, who welcomed the current trend of British investments in Iran.

May 20: The National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) has signed a contract with SNAM Progetti, a member of the Italian state-owned ENI group, for making a preliminary survey and laying down specifications for a 140-km. natural gas pipeline from Sarajah to Tehran, it was reported.

May 25: The Shah arrived in Geneva for a 5-day private stay after state visits to Belgium, Sweden and Austria.

May 26: New earthquakes rocked the half-ruined city of Lar.

May 27: April figures were released regarding the production of crude oil in South Iran totaling 3,853,000 long tons, compared with the record figure of 4,382,000 long tons during March this year and 3,444,000 long tons in April last year.

May 29: The Shah returned to Tehran.

June 1: The NIOC once more threw open to competitive tender for a period of two months starting September 1, 1960, parts of Districts 8, 14, and 18.

June 11: Iran's high criminal court freed Major Donald Bourke, USAF, for a charge of manslaughter when his car hit a pedestrian January 30, 1959.

## Erratum

No elections were held on March 11 as reported on page 182 of the Spring issue.

Mar. 16: Iraq is planning a \$56 million reservoir on the Euphrates, the irrigation director announced.

Mar. 17: Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Mubarak al-Sabah, Deputy Ruler of Kuwait, has been invited by Prime Minister 'Abd al-Karim Qasim to visit Iraq to renew negotiations on supplying Kuwait with water through pipelines from the Shatt al-Arab.

General Qasim ordered the reinstatement of 'Ali Shukur, one of the nation's top Communists, to his job as a locomotive engineer.

Mar. 19: Salim Shahin, secretary general of the Iraqi Communist party, has quit the party and his post as editor of *al-Mabda*, it was learned. He is the third official to quit in the struggle against Da'ud Sayigh's leadership.

Mar. 20: The trial, *in absentia*, of 20 soldiers and civilians accused of complicity in the Mosul uprising continued in Baghdad.

Mar. 22: In a broadcast speech, General Qasim appealed for greater vigilance and unity among the Iraqi people.

Mar. 23: *Al-Thaurah* continued its attack against 'Abd al-Fattah Ibrahim, among other things for his heading a purge committee at the Daurah Refinery which dismissed 44 employees for purely personal reasons; selling furniture belonging to the state; and using vehicles of the refinery for political purposes.

Mar. 26: Three Iraqi publishers, arrested after the assassination attempt on General Qasim last October, have been released, *al-Akbbār* announced.

Mar. 27: General Qasim commuted to 10 years' imprisonment the death sentences passed by the People's Court on: Fadhil al-Jamali, a former Premier; Ahmad Mukhtar Baban, Prime Minister from May to July, 1958; Burhan al-din Basha'yan, a former Foreign Minister; Lieut-General Rafiq 'Arif, one-time Chief of the General Staff; and Munir al-Gaylani.

Mar. 28: Cairo newspapers attacked General Qasim's decision to commute the sentences: *al-Akbbār* said he had submitted to British pressure to save "the partisans of imperialism," while *al-Ahram* declared that "his system is one of solidarity with the enemies of Arab nationalism."

An application for recognition of the Republican Party had been rejected by the Ministry of the Interior because the party's objectives allegedly do not conform with article 4 of the association laws governing the licensing of political parties.

Mar. 31: General Qasim announced in a television speech that he was staying the executions of 5 men convicted of attempting to assassinate him, and commuting the death sentence of a sixth. The executions will be delayed "until further notice."

- Apr. 1:* It was announced that Anastas I. Mikoyan will pay an official visit to Baghdad on April 8.
- Apr. 2:* President Sukarno of Indonesia arrived in Iraq for a 3-day state visit.
- Apr. 3:* It was announced in Baghdad that the Iraqi Minister of Planning, Dr. Tal'at al-Shaybani, in his capacity as Acting Minister of Oil, had signed an agreement with the Soviet Technoexport Organization under which the Soviet firm will carry out oil exploration operations in the Khanaqin area.
- Apr. 8:* Anastas I. Mikoyan arrived in Baghdad at the head of an official delegation to open the first Soviet industrial fair in Iraq.
- Apr. 7:* The Iraqi Council of Ministers has approved the establishment of diplomatic relations with Venezuela, it was disclosed.
- Apr. 10:* The Economic Planning Board has authorized the Ministry of Industry to ratify a contract concluded with the Soviet Technoexport Organization to carry out surveys and draw up plans for improving navigation on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and Shatt al-Arab, it was learned.
- Dr. Ibrahim sent an appeal to General Qasim with reference to the refusal of the Ministry of the Interior to license his party. It is not known on what grounds he contested the refusal.
- General Qasim reaffirmed Iraq's neutral and independent policy while sharing a platform with Anastas I. Mikoyan.
- Apr. 12:* Anastas I. Mikoyan toured Baghdad amid applauding crowds. He visited the Iraqi museum and the Daurah refinery.
- Apr. 13:* An anti-Communist newspaper in Baghdad charged that Communists tried to terrorize the southern Iraqi town of Hai several days ago.
- Apr. 14:* A Yugoslav cultural delegation arrived in Baghdad for a 2-week visit.
- Apr. 16:* The Soviet Union is expected to speed its economic aid to Iraq, it was reported in Baghdad on the departure of Mikoyan. He was reported to have denied that there would be any change in the terms of the Soviet Union's loan agreement with Iraq for 550,000,000 rubles, contrary to what informed sources in the government say that he devoted much of his visit in exploring ways of expediting work on 43 industrial and development projects specified in the agreement of March 16, 1959.
- Apr. 23:* Muhammad Hadid, Minister of Finance, tendered his resignation, and at the same time withdrew from the National Democratic Party.
- Apr. 27:* Five members of the 14-man founding committee of the NDP resigned together with Hadid and 2 more are expected to resign shortly. Four other members resigned from the founding committee, but not the party.
- Apr. 28:* An Islamic party has been licensed to operate, it was learned in Baghdad.
- Kamil Chadirchi, who resigned from the NDP last Fall, wrote in *al-Ahali* that NDP representatives in the Council of Ministers should not necessarily be obliged to give their unconditional support to the government.
- Apr. 30:* In reply to Chadirchi, Muhammad Hadid wrote in *al-Bayan* that he regretted the fact that differences of opinion have arisen between himself and Chadirchi, and that he advocated that NDP take a positive line and participate in building up the republic, rather than adopt a passive attitude.
- May 1:* In a clash between Communists and nationalists in Baghdad, at least 12 persons were reported killed. The outbreak is reported to be a culmination of a series of clashes between the two groups. Reports from provincial cities speak of a complete breakdown of law and order.
- May 5:* Elections within the NDP were boycotted by about 250 members led by Muhammad Hadid.
- May 6:* The NDP elections were declared nullified by the supervising magistrate because of a "lack of quorum."
- May 10:* Several Lebanese newspapers reported that General Qasim had decided that the execution of the leaders of the Mosul uprising should be carried out secretly within a few days.
- May 12:* Eighteen persons were sentenced to death and 3 to life imprisonment by the People's Court for "contracting with a foreign state, intriguing with it and urging it to launch aggression against the Iraqi Republic in order to annex Iraq to a foreign country, the UAR." All of them were tried in their absence.
- May 13:* In Cairo, former Iraqi ambassador to the UAR, Sayyid Faiq al-Samarra'i said he was not surprised by the verdict and further said that General Qasim and Colonel Mahdawi "attempted to eliminate all national elements standing against their betrayal of Iraq and the Arab nation."
- May 15:* The building of a broad-gauge railway between Basrah and Baghdad will be completed about the end of this month, the Director-General of Railways said.
- May 17:* It was announced that Dr. Mustafa Kamal Yasin has been elected a member of the UN International Law Committee.
- The Minister of Interior upheld a magistrate's decision to invalidate elections of officers of the NDP.
- May 19:* A new trade agreement between Iraq and China was signed in Peking, which provides for exchanges during 1960-61 of dates, cotton, hides, crude oil and oil from Iraq, and cotton fabrics, silk piece goods, steel, machinery and other products from China.
- May 22:* 'Abd al-Razzaq Shabib, President of the Iraqi Lawyers' Association, has opened libel proceedings against the proprietors and editors of the weeklies *al-Thabat* and *al-Hadara* and the left-wing daily *al-Bilad*.
- An Iraqi press delegation left for West Germany on a 2-week visit at the Bonn government's invitation.
- About 300 plots of land were distributed to

farmers in two villages in the Husayniyah area, Kut district.

**May 23:** A law effecting the independence of the general oil affairs department from the general oil authority was enforced.

Some 761 landless peasant families in the Khaniqin region received permanent titles to plots of land ranging from 10 to 12 acres.

**May 24:** General Qasim ordered the reinstatement of a number of oil workers dismissed by the Mosul and the Basrah Petroleum Companies.

**May 25:** It was announced in Baghdad that the Soviet Union had agreed to increase last year's 550,000,000 rubles loan to Iraq by a further 180,000,000 rubles.

Qasim Ahmad al-Abbas has been appointed Acting Director General of Oil Affairs in place of 'Abd al-Aziz al-Wattari, it was learned.

**May 28:** It was announced in Baghdad that the Council of Ministers had decided to release the seized assets of Dr. Nadhim al-Pachachi and 2 other persons who had held government office under the former régime.

**May 31:** The Islamic Party submitted a memorandum to General Qasim asking him to authorize a review of Iraq's laws to bring them closer to the "spirit of Islam."

The delegation concerned with forthcoming negotiations with the Russians to revise the Iraqi-Soviet agreement on technical and economic co-operation met for the first time.

**June 1:** Iraq's new ambassador to Iran, General 'Abd al-Muttalib al-Amin left Baghdad for Tehran.

**June 2:** A 2-man American trade mission arrived in Baghdad for a week's visit. The mission offered, supply locomotives and other equipment needed for the expansion of Iraq's railways.

**June 12:** Seventeen persons have been charged with distributing secret leaflets attacking the government and acting against Iraq's security, newspapers in Baghdad reported.

## Israel

(See also, General, Jordan, Palestine Problem, UAR)

1960

**Mar. 16:** The Knesset debated an attempt to unseat Premier David Ben-Gurion because of his meeting in New York with Chancellor Adenauer, and upheld the meeting by a vote of 55 to 3.

Premier Ben-Gurion left New York for London.

Growing apprehension is reported in Israel over the arrival of Billy Graham, the American evangelist.

**Mar. 17:** Premier Ben-Gurion held unofficial talks with Prime Minister Macmillan and Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd.

On his arrival in Jerusalem, Billy Graham an-

nounced he did not intend to proselytize in the Jewish state.

**Mar. 18:** Premier Ben-Gurion said in London that Israel intends to use the waters of the Jordan regardless of what the Arabs may do about it.

**Mar. 20:** The Israeli government radio charged that the Soviet Union was "creating a war-like atmosphere" in the Middle East by giving President Nasir the feeling that Moscow was solidly behind him.

A new trade agreement between Israel and Turkey, providing for the exchange of \$16,000,000 worth of goods was signed in Ankara. In 1959 Israel's trade with Turkey totalled \$8.6 million.

**Mar. 23:** The state radio announced that Israel will get \$5 million from West Germany in loans or investments over the next 10 years.

Premier Ben-Gurion left London for Israel convinced that Britain and the US regard his country as a stabilizing force in the Middle East that must be kept strong.

**Mar. 25:** Late and unexpected rain lasting for 3 days broke the worst dry spell in 111 years.

**Mar. 26:** According to diplomatic informants, the main purpose in Premier Ben-Gurion's visit to Washington was to propose that the Big Four at their summit meeting launch a new effort to bring about some kind of Arab-Israeli settlement, and the secondary reason was to see Chancellor Adenauer.

**Mar. 27:** Zalman Aranne, Minister of Education, resigned over a Cabinet dispute about the right of high school teachers to form a trade union.

**Mar. 29:** A foreign currency budget for the fiscal year 1960-61, amounting to \$685 million—\$50 million more than in 1959-60—was approved by the Ministerial Economic Committee.

**Apr. 2:** Eight and three-tenths million cases of citrus were sold this year compared to 7 million on the same date last year, but owing to lower prices this year, the proceeds from these exports are not expected to exceed those of last year.

**Apr. 8:** The Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc., named a board of directors and chairman to handle the distribution of funds raised by the UJA for humanitarian work in Israel.

**Apr. 9:** A Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Israel will continue to send cargoes into the Suez Canal in spite of the blockade. The statement followed a report that the Greek freighter *Astypalea*, carrying a load of cement from Israel, was unloading at Port Sa'id.

**Apr. 10:** A 6-man mission from the IBRD has completed its studies of the technical aspects of Israel's proposed projects for which loans are being sought, Mr. S. Mason, who led the mission, disclosed at a press conference. The development plans are connected with the enlargement of harbors and of the Dead Sea potash works which call for some \$45 million.

**Apr. 15:** At the request of the IBRD, Austin J. Tobin, executive director of the Port of New York Authority, will go to Israel next month to

- explore the possibility of setting up a port authority for that country.
- Apr. 27:** At the meeting of the council of the Socialist International in Haifa, 2 Americans, A. Philip Randolph and Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., moved to extend the boycott of F. W. Woolworth stores to other parts of the world.
- Apr. 30:** Ambassador Avraham Harmon declared in New York that Israel "is ready for peace at any time and is willing to pay the price for it." "The price for peace is negotiation," one based on the mutual recognition of the needs and aspirations of the Arab countries and Israel.
- May 2:** It was reported from Haifa that French-made anti-tank missiles were among weapons struck off the secret list of Israel's defense equipment when they were shown off for the first time in a "show of force" parade marking Israel's 12th anniversary.
- May 7:** Eugene Black of the IBRD indicated that Israel might have to set up an independent port authority before she can qualify for a loan for her port expansion program.
- May 9:** An agreement on a new \$5 million loan from the US Development Loan Fund to the Industrial Development Bank of Israel was signed, which is intended to finance new industries and the expansion of existing plants.
- May 16:** Senator Fulbright paid a 36-hour visit to Israel during which he had talks with Premier Ben-Gurion and Foreign Minister Golda Meir and visited various parts of the country.
- May 17:** An action to oust Premier Ben-Gurion for "heresy" has been initiated by religious leaders in the Knesset, it was reported in Tel Aviv.
- In Jerusalem, Senator Fulbright proposed that Israel permit some of the hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees to return to Israel.
- May 18:** The Knesset refused to unseat Premier Ben-Gurion.
- May 23:** Premier Ben-Gurion announced that Adolf Eichmann, the S.S. colonel who headed the Gestapo's Jewish Section, was under arrest in Israel and would stand trial for his life.
- May 24:** Adolf Eichmann was spirited from his home in an undisclosed country by Israeli security agents, it was announced.
- May 25:** Western diplomats friendly to Israel have questioned her jurisdiction over Eichmann, but Israeli officials rejected their objections. Israeli legal authorities said the law for the punishment of Nazis and their accomplices, adopted by the Knesset in 1950, empowers Israeli judges to condemn war criminals to death.
- May 26:** Army headquarters in Tel Aviv reported that a UAR MIG fighter plane was probably downed in an aerial dogfight over the Negev.
- May 27:** Jewish sources in Buenos Aires said that Eichmann was secretly removed from Argentina last Saturday (May 21) aboard a special plane that brought Israel's delegation to the Argentine Independence Day ceremonies. Abba Eban, Minister of State, denied any knowledge of it. Meanwhile, Adolf Heinz Beckerle, Nazi Police Chief of Frankfurt from 1933 to 1941, was rearrested on murder charges.
- May 28:** Israelis with varied personal experience with Nazis during World War II are worried that a long acrimonious public trial of Eichmann will do more harm than good, it was learned in Jerusalem. Premier Ben-Gurion had declared that a public trial would be held.
- May 29:** A proposal was approved by the inter-Ministerial Economic Committee whereby the gap in the revenue of the proposed budget would be partly met by a speedier collection of taxes and of debts owed to the treasury by private citizens, but that I£30 million would be raised through the sale of a new short-term issue of treasury bills.
- May 30:** The Israeli Government Press Office charged that the Jerusalem correspondent of *The New York Times* had made "shocking suggestions" in reporting the Eichmann case. The charge referred to a dispatch purporting to the fate of Eichmann's family.
- May 31:** Dr. Nadhum Goldmann of the World Jewish Congress said in Jerusalem that he had suggested to the government to permit an international tribunal to try Eichmann, but Minister of Justice Pinchas Rosen rejected the suggestion.
- June 3:** Eichmann was reported to be dictating and writing a voluntary statement about his pre-war and wartime activities as an official of the S.S., it was learned in Tel Aviv.
- June 5:** An Israeli police officer read to Eichmann the charge against him of "crimes against the Jewish people" and "crimes against humanity" in a request made for a 15-day extension of Eichmann's remand.
- June 6:** Foreign Minister Diogenes Taboada of Argentina disclosed the contents of an Israeli note in reply to an Argentine request for information on Eichmann's capture which stated in effect that Eichmann left Argentina voluntarily.
- June 7:** Diplomats in Israel reportedly expressed private astonishment and dissatisfaction over Israel's explanation of the circumstances leading to Eichmann's capture.
- June 8:** Argentina demanded the return by Israel this week of Eichmann. Meanwhile, UPI reported that the Argentine Ambassador to Israel has been recalled.
- June 9:** It was reported that Israel will reject Argentina's ultimatum. Premier Ben-Gurion wrote a personal letter to President Frondizi explaining the Israeli position. The Security Council of the UN was reported ready to take up the case if brought before it.
- June 10:** Argentina notified the UN that she would bring the case of Eichmann before the UN unless he was quickly returned by Israel.
- June 12:** Israel decided not to reply, for the time being, to the Argentine demand to return Eichmann.



June 14: Israel rejected a compromise proposal under which Eichmann would be kept in custody in the Argentine Embassy in Tel Aviv pending a decision on the court that should try him. In the Knesset, the Herut party attempted to introduce a motion to prevent Israel's submission to the Argentine demand.

Premier Ben-Gurion and President de Gaulle met in Paris.

June 15: It was announced that the UN Security Council will take up the Eichmann case on June 22.

## Jordan

(See also, Israel, Palestine Problem, UAR)

### 1960

- Mar. 17: Ten out of 16 Jordanian oil engineers returned to Amman from Italy where they had been training in operating and administering refineries.
- Mar. 21: William Campbell, vice-president of Tapline, arrived in Amman and called on Minister of Economy, Khulusi al-Khayri. The Minister said that Mr. Campbell informed him about the latest developments on the question of increased royalties to Arab countries for allowing Tapline pipelines across their territories.
- Mar. 22: Jordan charged Israeli fighter planes with attacking a Jordanian airliner making a routine flight from Amman to Cairo.
- Mar. 23: An American team of divers searching for the lost Biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah discovered 9 hills beneath the Dead Sea and an ancient track from the shore to a buried island. Phillips Petroleum Company completed work on its 14th test well north of the Dead Sea.
- Mar. 24: Phillips Petroleum Company informed Khulusi al-Khayri that it had chosen a site north of the Dead Sea to sink its major test well.
- Mar. 25: Jordan's budget for the year beginning April 1, 1960, which has been approved by the Cabinet, estimates expenditures, including JD23 million financed by foreign aid, at JD35.2 million and revenues at JD34 million. The largest expenditure is for defense accounting for JD18.5 million, the *Middle East Economic Digest* reported.
- Mar. 26: Two agreements were signed in Amman by Jordanian and US mission officials under which a grant of \$621,000 was made available to help Jordan develop agricultural projects: the first of \$50,000 will be contributed to support the agricultural research department; the second of \$571,000 for loans to individual farmers and to the Ministry of Social Welfare for agricultural cooperatives.
- Mar. 27: A plot to assassinate Prime Minister Hazza' al-Majali and other officials during prayers ending the Ramadan fast was foiled by the arrest of two "dangerous terrorists" who had confessed, security authorities disclosed.
- Mar. 30: The Prime Minister said his government would ask the UAR to extradite Sayyid Rimawi and General Nuwar, who allegedly were implicated in a plot to assassinate him.
- Apr. 2: Al-Abram reported that the UAR would not hand over the two political refugees implicated in the assassination plot and declared that Jordan was "once more" trying to create a crisis with the UAR on such a request.
- Apr. 3: The Parliament approved a \$98,627,000 budget for 1960-61 amid preparations for a 10-year economic plan with US assistance. The budget forecast revenues of \$95,000,000, leaving a \$3,427,200 deficit.
- Further arrests were made in connection with the alleged plot to assassinate the Prime Minister.
- Apr. 4: King Husayn left Amman for a 5-week visit to 4 countries at the invitation of their heads. His first stop is Iran, then Turkey, Morocco, Ethiopia and later Spain.
- Apr. 7: Eight other people, besides Sayyid Rimawi and General Nuwar would be tried for conspiring to assassinate the Prime Minister, it was announced.
- Apr. 10: John Noble and William Campbell, both of Tapline, arrived in Amman to inform the Jordanian government of the results of the former's consultations with the company's head office in the US regarding increased oil transit royalties.
- Apr. 11: The House of Notables approved the general budget for the financial year 1960-61.
- King Husayn was reported to have stated in an interview with *US News and World Report* that, at some point, President Nasir would turn to closer ties with communism.
- Apr. 13: A British expedition set out in quest of a hoard of gold and silver buried more than 2,000 years ago between Hebron and Nablus.
- Apr. 18: Proceedings in the assassination plot opened at Zerka camp.
- Apr. 23: The State Security Court began hearing witnesses for the prosecution against 10 men charged with plotting to kill the Prime Minister.
- Apr. 25: General Bahjat Tabbarah said that authorities were studying the possibility of requesting Lebanon to extradite Dr. Jamil Baddur, a Jordanian, who was arrested on his arrival at Beirut from Zurich yesterday, sentenced in 1957 to 15 years' imprisonment on a charge of communism.
- Apr. 26: It has been agreed with the US operations mission to appropriate \$1,800,000 from American economic aid to Jordan to finance an irrigation network as an off-shoot of the Eastern Ghor Canal project, Suwaylim Haddad, engineer of the project said.
- Apr. 30: The Jordanian Labor Union Federation sent a telegram to ICATU expressing their complete support for the boycott of US ships in Arab ports, and another to the US Embassy in Amman, requesting the US government to take appropriate action to end the New York picketing.



**May 2:** The US Operations Mission paid Jordan \$3,300,000, the second installment of US assistance in the fiscal year.

**May 3:** It was announced that King Husayn will visit Ethiopia on May 12.

**May 4:** Prime Minister Hazza' al-Majali told French journalists that the two obstacles in the way of establishing good relations with France and the Arab world are "France's attitude towards the freedom of the Algerians," and "France's supporting Israel and providing her with military and other material assistance."

**May 7:** Hazza' al-Majali said that the government was reconsidering the election law with a view to introducing amendments to ensure fairness and freedom of elections.

**May 8:** Five members of the staff of the AUB arrived in Amman at the invitation of the Education Ministry for consultations about establishing two colleges for arts and sciences in Jordan as an extension of teachers' training centers for men and women.

The government received a note from the Arab League announcing the postponement of the meeting of the Economic Council which was due to be held in Cairo on May 11, until further notice.

**May 12:** It was officially announced in Amman that the Jordanian government agrees to the establishment of an Arab shipping company in accordance with Arab League recommendations.

An agreement between West Germany and Jordan on technical and possibly financial assistance for Jordan's plans to develop her railway system, her mineral resources and her tourist industry took effect.

**May 14:** The British government paid a million dinars to Jordan, it was officially stated. Under-secretary of Finance Adib al-Saghir said Jordan had also received 250,000 dinars out of a British loan of 500,000 dinars to complete a road between Amman and Aqaba.

**May 15:** Sir Eric Franklin, an administrative services expert commissioned by the UN Technical Co-operation Organization to work in Jordan for 6 months, arrived in Amman.

**May 16:** King Husayn returned to Amman.

**May 17:** The Foreign Minister, Musa Nasir, resumed his duties after a month's sick leave.

A representative of the West German Deutz Company arrived in Amman for detailed discussions on a project for the electrification of Jordan.

**May 18:** It was disclosed that the government was hoping to reduce the budget deficit through increased oil transit royalty payments from Tapline.

**May 19:** The agricultural loans organization began functioning by issuing long-term loans to farmers to improve their land.

The Aqaba port department signed an agreement with the British Rendel, Palmer and Tritton Company, which will undertake all engineering

and consulting works for the port and its operation.

**May 22:** The Council of Ministers approved the revised electoral law, which will be enforced as a temporary law after ratification by King Husayn.

**May 27:** Phillips Petroleum Company started drilling a new test well in the Dead Sea area.

**May 28:** An agreement was signed with USOM which provides for JD544,643 for the construction of an irrigation network to distribute water to 10,000 acres of land on both sides of the Eastern Ghor Canal. The agreement brings the total allocations of the US government towards this scheme to 1,436,643 dinars.

**May 29:** The Council of Ministers met to discuss the situation arising from the water shortage in various parts of the country.

**June 1:** A royal decree was issued approving the amended electoral law.

**June 2:** A committee has been formed to review Jordan's financial policy and to make recommendations for improving the national economy and encouraging foreign and local investment in development projects, it was announced.

The new ministers of Switzerland, Sweden and Finland to Jordan presented their credentials to King Husayn.

**June 13:** Bethlehem, afflicted by drought, got a badly needed water tank from Mrs. Ruth Baney of Kansas.

## Kashmir

(See also, Iraq)

### 1960

**Mar. 24:** Pakistan sent a letter (Doc. S/4278) to the President of the Security Council, referring to an Indian letter of 28 December 1959 (Doc. S/4249) in reply to an earlier Pakistan communication regarding recent developments in Ladakh, which said that until such time as the future of Kashmir is determined "no positions taken or adjustments made in the territories of the disputed state by either India or China shall be valid or affect the status of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir or the imperatives of the demilitarization and self-determination of the state laid down in the resolutions of the Security Council."

**Apr. 14:** Prime Minister Baqshi Ghulam Muhammad, in a village meeting, said that Kashmir's decision to be a part of India is irrevocable and there is no question of reopening it.

**May 3:** The Azad Kashmir president has asked the Commonwealth prime ministers to use their influence to solve the Kashmir issue, it was reported.

**May 22:** Reports from across the cease-fire line in occupied Kashmir said that there was a serious rift among the members of the Baqshi cabinet.

The deposed former prime minister of Indian-occupied Kashmir, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abdallah, was reported to have strongly protested against the prosecution tactics to harass witnesses and persecute the accused in the so-called Kashmir conspiracy case.

*June 2:* The Iraqi Foreign Minister, Hashim Jawad, told the Pakistan Press Association correspondent that he had always considered Pakistan's stand on Kashmir as just and still held the same view.

*June 6:* The foundation stone of radio Kashmir's new building was laid at a special ceremony in Srinagar by Prime Minister Ghulam Muhammad.

## Lebanon

(See also, General)

### 1960

*Mar. 23:* It was announced in Beirut that the US had agreed to give Lebanon 20,000 tons of wheat to alleviate the current shortage produced by drought.

Another announcement disclosed that the Lebanese Ministry of Economy had banned 5 foreign firms for violating the regulations of the Arab boycott of Israel.

*Mar. 24:* The Chamber of Deputies held its first meeting in the current session and elected members of the Financial Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Judicial and Administrative Affairs, and Economic Affairs Committees.

*Mar. 26:* A military court in Beirut began the trial of 6 men accused of spying.

*Mar. 28:* An official spokesman disclosed that Lebanese authorities are preparing draft trade agreements with a number of African and South American countries.

Nine US Sixth Fleet ships, with about 6,500 men on board, arrived in Beirut on a 6-day visit.

*Mar. 31:* The Ministry of Health launched a compulsory vaccination drive against smallpox, cases of which have been reported in certain parts of Lebanon.

*Apr. 1:* The Lebanese delegation to the Arab Oil Workers Conference scheduled to be held in Tunis from 5-8 April, left Beirut. The delegation includes representatives of the workers and employees of Mobiloil, Lepco, and Shell.

*Apr. 2:* An official Lebanese mission has left for Poland and Czechoslovakia to seek a revision of trade agreements and expand exchanges with these countries, it was announced.

*Apr. 4:* Husayn al-Jisr, newly appointed Lebanese ambassador to Britain, presented his credentials to Queen Elizabeth at Buckingham Palace.

George 'Aql, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, died at the American University Hospital at the age of 57.

The Muslim Waqf society handed 5,000 lire to the ambassador of Morocco, collected from Mosque congregations in Beirut, for relief of the Agadir earthquake victims.

*Apr. 5:* The third in a series of shipments of rolling stock to Lebanon under a £1,255,000 Point Four grant, designed to help modernize the Lebanese railroad system, arrived at the port of Tripoli.

*Apr. 8:* A military court acquitted 6 men, including 2 Jews, of spying charges, but convicted 2 of them on charges of contravening the Israel boycott law.

It was reported that the government has introduced a bill for extra-budgetary expenditure of £151.4 million on development works in 1960, which is roughly equivalent to the payment that Lebanon is receiving from the Iraq Petroleum Company in settlement of past claims for oil transit dues.

A ministerial source said that the Chamber of Deputies will be dissolved within 3 or 4 weeks. He further said that the elections would be conducted by a government other than the present Rashid Karami Cabinet. The Council of Ministers had not formally discussed the dissolution of the Chamber and the holding of elections, although those subjects had been informally discussed by members of the government and President Fu'ad Shihab.

*Apr. 13:* Prime Minister Karami said that all he was concerned about, if general elections were to be held, was that "such elections should be supervised by a suitable government." A ministerial source said later that the Chamber of Deputies will be given an opportunity to debate the revised electoral law despite the fact that the government became entitled to ask the President to issue it by decree.

*Apr. 19:* The Chamber of Deputies approved a government grant of 200,000 lire for the victims of the Agadir earthquake.

*Apr. 20:* The Chamber of Deputies approved the electoral bill as amended by various parliamentary committees. It provides for a 99-seat Chamber instead of the present 66, and calls for a secret ballot but cancels the electoral card proposal contained in the original bill.

*Apr. 26:* The Speaker of the Chamber announced that the Chamber of Deputies will be dissolved early in May. Commenting on this statement, a ministerial source said that, although he would welcome the appointment of a caretaker government, he could not see any constitutional objection to the present government supervising the elections.

*Apr. 27:* The State Security Council adopted several measures to ensure law and order during the elections.

*Apr. 28:* The Ministry of the Interior has banned the display of photographs of election candidates in streets and public places, a statement disclosed.

The Chamber of Deputies approved an agree-

ment signed between the government and the Beirut Port Company for the purchase of the remaining period of the company's concession.

**Apr. 30:** Authorities confiscated copies of *Al-Jumhuriyah* for an article it published on the forthcoming elections alleging that votes would be bought at LE 30 each.

**May 1:** A grenade exploded among crowds gathered outside of a convent in the Ashrafiyah area in Beirut killing a 13-year-old girl and 2 men.

**May 2:** An explosive was hurled near the house of Major Ahdab and there were further incidents on this day.

**May 3:** Sayyid Sa'ib Salam, former Prime Minister, appealed to citizens of all communities to show self-restraint in an effort to minimize pre-election trouble.

**May 4:** The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved. It was announced that elections would be held in stages beginning Sunday June 12 and continuing in different parts of the country for 4 Sundays.

A loan agreement between the US Development Loan Fund and the Banque de Crédit Agricole, Industriel et Foncier was signed in Washington. The bank will receive \$5 million to be made available for long-term loans to finance new industrial projects and the expansion of existing factories.

**May 5:** It was reported that the construction of the new IPC 30-in. pipeline from the Lebanese-Syrian border to the Tripoli terminal, a distance of 30 kms., had been completed.

**May 9:** Former Premier Sami al-Sulh submitted his nomination as a candidate for Beirut in the forthcoming parliamentary elections. This was the second nomination received by the Ministry of Interior, the first being that of Emile Bustani.

**May 10:** The Directorate of Public Security announced the arrest of a spy ring allegedly plotting the assassination of political personalities, forge identity cards, and distribute leaflets detrimental to public security.

**May 14:** A new government was formed in Beirut to supervise the parliamentary elections. It is composed as follows:

Ahmad Da'ud	.....	Prime Minister and Defense
Philip Taqla	.....	Foreign Affairs and Economy
Jubran Nahhas	.....	Justice and Education
George Naqqash	.....	Information and National Guidance, and Public Works
Amin Bayhum	.....	Finance and Social Affairs
Edmond Qasbar	.....	Interior and General Planning
Fu'ad Najjar	.....	Agriculture and Posts and Telegraphs
Hasan Miqdad	.....	Health

**May 16:** A ban on carrying firearms became effective throughout Lebanon.

**May 17:** Several senior government officials and judges submitted their resignations in order to qualify as candidates in the elections.

**May 18:** Three thousand tons of wheat arrived in Beirut as part of the 18,000 tons given in American Point IV aid to farmers.

**May 20:** About 150 workers of Mideast Aircraft Servicing Co., a subsidiary of BOAC, began to strike because they had been forbidden to join the Airline Employees and Workers' Union.

**May 24:** President Nehru arrived in Beirut for a 2-day visit in Lebanon.

It was announced that the Aviation Workers' Union threatened to strike in sympathy with the MASCO employees, but suspended it "indefinitely" upon the government's intervention with the United Trade Unions Organization, an affiliate.

**May 28:** The Council of Ministers terminated the administrative leave granted to Lieut-Colonel 'Aziz al-Ahdab, Beirut police commander, despite the latter's request for a leave of absence until such time as the investigation into the bombing incident in Ashrafiyah was completed.

**June 3:** Foreigners will not be allowed to move about in election areas when voting at the general election is in progress, the Minister of Interior said.

**June 4:** IPC has announced that pumping of crude oil through its newly completed 30-in. pipeline has begun.

**June 7:** The trustees of International College, Beirut, announced the receipt of a gift of \$30,000 from the Charles E. Merrill Trust, which is geared to help the relocation of the college from its present location on the campus of AUB to a new campus south of Beirut.

**June 12:** General parliamentary elections began.

**June 13:** Former President Camille Sham'un was returned to parliament in yesterday's elections. Thirty seats were filled by voters in the villages of Mount Lebanon.

## Libya

(See also, Jordan)

### 1960

**Mar. 21:** A mock battle called Exercise Starlight designed to test the effectiveness of Britain's mobile Strategic Reserve was tried in the Tmimi area.

**Mar. 22:** The Tripolitanian daily *Tarablus al-Gharb* reported that the Libyan Prime Minister had instructed the Federal Police chief and the Director of Immigration to exercise rigid control on the employment of foreign technicians in Libya to ensure that they are at present doing the work for which they were specifically hired.

**Mar. 25:** It was reported that a new firm known as Eastern Investments Consultants Inc. has been recently established which aims to offer consulting services to oil companies concerning concessions and investments in Libya and other African areas.

**Mar. 26:** The US Wheelus Air Force Base sent photographic reconnaissance flights over the Libyan desert to map a new search for the remains of 4 crew members of a B-24 *Liberator* that crashed in April, 1943.

Mar. 28: A son was born to the wife of Crown Prince Hasan al-Rida, nephew of King Idris al-Sanusi. The infant is second in line to succeed the king.

Mar. 31: The Libyan government requested the Jordanian government to support its nomination for the position of Deputy President of the UN General Assembly during its next session.

Apr. 1: The Prime Minister of Libya has announced that for 1960-61 the Libyan budget is to depend exclusively on internal revenue, a report from Tripoli disclosed.

Apr. 10: The *Italian Petroleum News* reported that Ausonia Mineraria, an exploration subsidiary of Italy's Edison industrial group, has been awarded concession 85 in the northeast section of the Fezzan Province of Libya.

Apr. 17: *Tarabulus al-Gharb* reported that 3 new sections will be added to the Petroleum Commission during the coming year.

Apr. 18: The Minister of National Economy told a questioner in the Libyan Chamber of Deputies that the 1959-60 budget of the Petroleum Commission included provisions for the establishment of an oil accounting section, and that efforts to recruit an expert to head this section had so far been unsuccessful.

Apr. 21: Prime Minister 'Abd al-Majid Kubar at a press conference said that prospects for Libya's oil industry were extremely bright and added that Esso had decided on Marsa al-Buraiqah, on the Gulf of Sirte, as the site for its crude loading terminal and refinery.

Apr. 22: It was announced that the Libyan government had decided to establish diplomatic relations with Austria, China, Holland, and Yugoslavia.

Apr. 27: It was reported from Tripoli that Mobiloil of Canada has struck oil in its Tripolitanian concession with an output of 1,500 b/d.

May 6: According to an article in *al-Masa*, the ENI subsidiary CORI, which was granted a 30,000 sq. km. concession near Jaghub in Cyrenaica last year, is now seeking to obtain a 72,000 sq. km. concession in Southern Cyrenaica on the Egyptian-Sudanese border.

May 14: Marsa al-Brega, the site chosen for the terminal of the projected 200-km. pipeline from Esso Standard's Zelten oil field, was declared an official seaport for the import and export of all goods relating to the oil industry and the export of crude oil and petroleum products.

May 15: Two British oil prospectors found a sixth body of the B-24 war fliers in the sand sea of Calanshio.

May 22: The Libyan Senate urged the government to exercise stricter control over oil exploration; supervision of production and marketing; and expert evaluation of the country's oil reserves.

Libyan and Venezuelan Ambassadors in Cairo met to exchange views on oil matters and discuss plans for coordinating the petroleum policies of their two countries.

May 27: It was reported that the Oasis Oil Company of Libya, operator for the Ohio Oil Company, Amerada Petroleum Corporation and Continental Oil Company, has been formally incorporated as a wholly-owned affiliate of the three companies under the name of Oasis Oil Company of Libya, Inc. The new company will conduct exploration, development and transportation, but not engage in refining and marketing of oil.

June 3: A reorganization of the Petroleum Commission involving, among other things, the abolition of the present practice whereby the chairmanship of the commission is held in rotation, is anticipated, *al-Masa* reported.

## Morocco

(See also, Algeria, Iraq)

### 1960

Mar. 16: The US Embassy in Rabat announced that US aid to Morocco for the fiscal year 1960, ending June 30, will total \$73 million.

Mar. 23: Firm action taken against activists of the National Union of People's Forces has provoked the flight of several prominent Moroccan officials and caused a threat of insurrection in the Atlas Mountains, it was learned in Rabat.

Mar. 25: French architect Charles le Corbusier arrived in Rabat on the invitation of the Moroccan government to study town planning problems in rebuilding Agadir.

Mar. 29: Leftist Premier 'Abdallah Ibrahim and Deputy Premier 'Abd al-Rahim Abu-'Abid refused to resign as their backers were arrested by the police.

Apr. 1: Premier 'Abdallah Ibrahim said that France's second atomic bomb test had "worsened the already grave situation" in French-Moroccan relations.

Apr. 2: The Moroccan Federation of Labor called a strike in all Moroccan mines for next Friday in protest against the shooting of a striker yesterday at Kachkate, 100 miles south of Casablanca.

A Jewish leader said in Casablanca that 500 Jewish survivors of the Agadir tragedy had been turned out of the Moroccan army barracks and left to fend for themselves. Moroccan authorities said the barracks were needed for their troops, he added.

Deputy Premier 'Abd al-Rahim Abu-'Abid has accused the Moroccan police of torturing persons arrested for an alleged plot against the government and the life of Crown Prince Mawlay Hasan.

Apr. 8: It was reported in Tangier that the integration of that port, formerly an international zone, with Morocco, will be completed in 10 days at a loss estimated at 40 per cent of the city's commercial activity.

- Apr. 11:* The "Meknes Sickness" trial, in which 24 men are accused of "crimes against the Moroccan nation's health" opened in Rabat.
- Apr. 13:* The Moroccan government official gazette announced that local elections will take place on May 29. Some 3,921,592 people have registered to vote—the first in the country's history.
- Apr. 16:* A rebellious local administrator, Tihami al-Bashir, who took to the mountains a month ago, has surrendered to the Moroccan army, authorities in Rabat announced. He is accused of having killed the Beni-Mellal police chief.
- The Moroccan state radio announced that the Foreign Ministry had protested "energetically" to the French government against what was described as a 3-hour bombing of Moroccan territory Thursday by French planes from Algeria. An official spokesman in Paris said the French government had no knowledge of such an incident and French military quarters in Algiers termed reports of the incident too "fantastic" to be worth a denial.
- Apr. 18:* The Progressive National Union of Popular Forces urged that a blockade be set up around the nine French military bases in Morocco as left and right-wing political parties put increased pressure on the government to force the evacuation of French bases, it was reported in Rabat.
- Apr. 19:* Tangier ceased to be a free zone and became integrated with the rest of Morocco.
- Apr. 20:* Fifteen thousand hashish farmers are out of jobs in northern Morocco because a national fight against mental diseases has outlawed their traditional means of earning a living.
- Apr. 21:* Morocco's new national currency, whose basic unit is the *dirham*, will be issued soon by the state bank, it was learned in Rabat.
- Apr. 23:* The Moroccan government opposed French "interposition" in the application of the bilateral agreement with the US on the evacuation of American military bases in Morocco.
- Apr. 26:* The Moroccan army officially took possession of 2 radar sites that had become the subject of diplomatic dispute following evacuation by the USAF.
- Apr. 27:* Five people were sentenced to death and 3 to life imprisonment when the trial of 24 accused of selling adulterated cooking oil ended in Rabat.
- Apr. 28:* The 5 persons condemned to death and the 3 sentenced to life imprisonment appealed against their sentences.
- Apr. 30:* King Muhammad V inaugurated the recently constructed 50-kilowatt transmitter in the village of Sebba Aïoun and in a personal message beamed to Eastern Algeria, the Middle East and West Africa, offered them radio time to "defend their rights." At the same time, Morocco radio also began shortwave broadcasts over two VOA transmitters in Tangier.
- King Husayn of Jordan left Fez for Madrid after a 9-day official visit.
- May 2:* President Sukarno of Indonesia arrived in Rabat for a 4-day official visit.
- May 3:* Indonesia and Morocco announced general agreement on major foreign policy issues and reaffirmed their faith in the principle of "non-alignment" as the "best guarantee of political independence and national dignity."
- May 7:* France has put pressure on the US to curb the "violence" of the Moroccan short-wave radio program "Voice of Algeria," broadcast over VOA transmitters and beamed to eastern Algeria and the Middle East, French sources in Rabat disclosed.
- May 9:* A trade agreement between Morocco and Iraq was signed in Rabat.
- May 13:* A deadlock was reached in Morocco's negotiations with Spain to withdraw her forces from Morocco *in toto* when the Spanish position "suddenly hardened" and Madrid insisted on a progressive withdrawal without a declaration of principle on total evacuation, the state radio in Rabat announced.
- May 14:* The Chinese Communist Ambassador in Casablanca voiced anti-American propaganda at the annual fair last week, it was reported, when four USAF *Skyblazers* crossed the fair grounds. The Chinese pavillion was closed to all Americans shortly after the incident but was opened 24 hours later.
- Crown Prince Mawlay Hasan announced the establishment of a military base at Hassi Tan Tan, 60 miles north of the Spanish Sahara border in Tarfaia. He also announced the creation of a Royal Moroccan Navy.
- May 20:* King Muhammad V called for the resignation of Premier 'Abdallah Ibrahim.
- May 21:* King Muhammad V sought to form a "Government of National Union around the Throne" in a move to consolidate Left-wing forces with the throne and asked the leader of each group called for consultation to put himself and his followers "unconditionally" at the sovereign's service.
- May 22:* The third day of the Moroccan government crisis ended with no new Cabinet in view and with a promise that King Muhammad V would address his people tomorrow.
- May 23:* King Muhammad V announced that he would take over administrative power and exercise it through his son as "intermediary." He also declared that he would promulgate a Constitution for Morocco before the end of 1962.
- May 24:* King Muhammad V and his son named 6 persons to the new Cabinet.
- May 25:* The new Cabinet was virtually completed with the portfolios of Defense and Justice still vacant.
- May 26:* The new Cabinet was sworn in with King Muhammad V as Prime Minister and Prince Mawlay Hasan as his Deputy Minister. Ministers named at this juncture were:
- Foreign Affairs:* Idris Muhammad.  
*Interior:* Mubarak Bekkai.  
*Finance and National Economy:* Muhammad Douiri.



*Labor and Social Questions:* 'Abd al-Karim Khatib.

*Agriculture:* Hasan Zemmouri.

*Commerce and Industry:* Idris Slaoui.

*Civil Service and Moroccanization of Administration:* Muhammad Boucetta.

*Post, Telephone and Telegraph:* Muhammad Sharqawi.

*Information and Tourism:* Mawlay Ahmad al-'Alawi.

*Health:* Dr. Yusuf ibn 'Abbas.

*Education:* 'Adb al-Karim Benjelloun.

*Public Works:* 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-'Ali.

May 27: Left-wing leaders denounced the new régime at a rally in the outskirts of Rabat when ousted Premier 'Abdallah Ibrahim said the "battle is even harder now than the battle was for independence."

May 28: The first nation-wide election campaign ended and in the meantime the Paris newspaper *Le Monde* was banned for publishing an interview quoting Mahdi ibn Barqa, union leader who is in Paris, as having said Morocco was moving toward a "theocratic and feudal" régime that "will tend to revive or maintain medieval social structures."

The issue of the evacuation of French and Spanish troops from independent Morocco appears to be moving to a solution, it was reported in Rabat, but the timing of the moves has brought accusations from Leftists of European support for the new conservative royal government.

May 30: Both major parties, the Istiqlal and the Left-wing National Union of Popular Forces, continued to report victory in the local elections. Istiqlal is reported to have won in the inland regions and the NUPE, in the coastal industrial centers. Officials declined to go beyond saying that the poll was between 71 and 72 per cent.

June 1: It was reported that first results of the elections showed a victory for the Istiqlal Party. The party reported that 80 per cent of its candidates won.

June 4: The Moroccan government reported the expansion of its program to train its Muslim women in the various fields other than "childbearing and household drudgery."

## Pakistan

(See also, Afghanistan, UAR)

1960

Mar. 16: The East Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) signed a contract with Associated Consulting Engineers, a Pakistan concern, for a survey of the £75 million multipurpose Brahmaputra Project which may be undertaken during the Second Five-Year Plan period.

The Cabinet approved the final protocol regarding the demarcation of Pakistan-Iran boundary.

Mar. 21: Pakistan and India signed a new 2-year trade agreement providing for "most favoured nation treatment to the commerce of either country."

The government has approved, for the earliest possible implementation, a report by the Marriage and Family Laws Commission calling for a new marriage code which gives women the legal right to choose their husbands and to divorce them.

Mar. 24: The State Bank of Pakistan decided to take a number of selective measures for credit control with the aim to check inflationary tendencies in the economy and curbing excessive credit expansion in certain sectors.

Talks between the finance ministers of India and Pakistan aimed at resolving outstanding financial issues between the 2 countries began in Rawalpindi.

Mar. 27: At the close of the talks between the finance ministers of India and Pakistan a joint communiqué was issued which stated in part that some of the outstanding issues had been resolved, "but a few points still remain before an over-all settlement can be reached."

Apr. 1: The WAPDA signed an agreement with Messrs. Tippetts-Abbott-McCarthy-Stratton, Consulting Engineers and Architects, for the design and consultant services for the construction of the Terbela Dam.

Apr. 4: It was reported that diplomatic informants in Washington have expressed concern that the agreement on the \$1 billion Indus River development program by India and Pakistan might be delayed or frustrated by 2 Pakistani claims—the division of waters during the 10 to 15 years of transition until completion of the canals and dams, and the dispute on "insignificant" amounts agreed upon in principle, to be used by Kashmir and Jammu.

Apr. 6: India proposed to continue for the time being supplies of water to Pakistan despite the expiry of the *Ad Hoc* Transitional Arrangement on March 31, 1960, the Union Minister for Irrigation and Power said, in India's *Lok Sabha*.

Apr. 10: President Nasir arrived in Karachi on a 6-day official visit to Pakistan.

Apr. 11: The appointment of Lieut-Gen. Muhammad Azzam Khan as Governor of East Pakistan and that of Malik Amir Muhammad Khan of Klabagh as Governor of West Pakistan were announced in Karachi.

The US Department of Agriculture announced the sale to Pakistan of \$88,100,000 worth of farm products under its surplus disposal program.

Apr. 13: Lieut-Gen. Muhammad Azzam Khan was sworn in as Governor of East Pakistan.

Pakistan and the UAR signed a one-year trade agreement giving each other most-favored-nation treatment.

Apr. 16: The Constitution Commission released a 30-page questionnaire for eliciting public opinion



on the general pattern of the future constitution of Pakistan.

**Apr. 18:** A trade agreement was signed between Pakistan and Yugoslavia.

**Apr. 19:** Three leading international bankers cautioned India and Pakistan that there was no assurance they would be able to raise the \$8,500,000,000 in foreign aid required by their next 5-year plans.

The Pakistani Supreme Court threw out the conviction of Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, former Defense Minister, on a black-market charge.

**Apr. 21:** The Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, Koca Popovic, arrived in Rawalpindi for a 5-day official visit in Pakistan.

**Apr. 25:** The French Ambassador-designate to Pakistan, Count Ghislain Caluzel, presented his credentials to President Ayub Khan.

**May 1:** Food rationing ended in West Pakistan 18 years after it was introduced in World War II.

**May 8:** It was reported that Pakistan plans to lodge a strong protest with the US if it is confirmed that the U-2 spy plane stopped over in Peshawar before making its last flight.

**May 11:** Pakistanis were reassured by the US pledge it would defend allies subjected to Soviet intimidation and by President Ayub Khan's statement that "we will not be brow beaten."

**May 12:** Ali Khan was killed in an automobile accident in Suresnes, France. He was 48 years old.

**May 17:** President Ayub Khan said Pakistan was taking measures to insure that repeated flights of reconnaissance planes from Pakistan would not be repeated.

**May 21:** The Economic Committee of the cabinet decided to reduce the prices of cotton yarn and coarse and medium cotton cloth, basing their report on the recommendations of the Textile Inquiry Commission.

**May 24:** Foreign Minister Manzur Qadir reported that Pakistan had rejected a Soviet protest over the U-2 incident.

**May 28:** It was reported that the Soviet Union is sounding out Pakistan on whether she would accept sizable ruble aid for development plans.

**May 30:** A wide range of new projects agreements were signed between Pakistan and the ICA Mission to Pakistan, \$3.2 million being provided for 14 projects covering fisheries developments, civil air transportation, public safety, public administration, agriculture, atomic energy research and several others.

**June 11:** The Minister of Commerce, Hafizur Rahman said that jute stocks would be adequate to meet domestic and foreign demand.

**June 12:** Former Prime Minister Muhammad Ali criticized the régime in Lahore's *Civil and Military Gazette*, saying that the Constitution provided for free elections but that because it was abrogated before the elections the new régime was leading "in the direction of a personal dictatorship, however alluringly paternalistic it might appear."

## Palestine Problem

(See also, Israel, Jordan, UAR)

### 1960

**Mar. 16:** King Husayn of Jordan announced that he would agree to a plebiscite among former Palestinians living in Jordan to decide the future of Jordan's West Bank.

**Mar. 21:** Jordan accused Israel of attacking a Jordanian airliner with 19 passengers while it was on a flight from Amman to Cairo.

**Mar. 22:** An Israeli version of the incident given by a military spokesman in Tel Aviv indicated that Israeli jet fighters had intercepted a Jordanian airliner which violated Israel's air space in the Aqaba region.

**Mar. 23:** In a speech in the House of Representatives, Prime Minister Hazza' al-Majali of Jordan said that the creation of a special status for Palestine was meant to "liquidate the Palestinian question and evade responsibilities." He added, "We will never accept the suggestion that the recovery of rights and the repulsion of danger are the responsibility of the Palestinians themselves, and that they will only be supported by the Arab states."

In Cairo, the Afro-Asian people's permanent secretariat said in a statement that if the West continued to encourage the state of Israel the Arab and Afro-Asian peoples would launch a campaign to "eliminate Israel."

**Mar. 31:** The Jordanian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission met twice to discuss an urgent complaint by Jordan on the Israeli attack of one of its airliners.

**Apr. 5:** It was announced in London that, of the £300,000 so far collected in Britain during world refugee year, the sum of £140,000 had been allocated to building a vocational training center for Palestine refugees in Jordan.

**Apr. 6:** A mass meeting held in Hebron, on the West Bank of the Jordan, denounced what it called "the novelty of the Palestinian status," and adopted several resolutions opposing the idea and announcing loyalty to King Husayn who was "the only one to have the right to speak on the fate of the Palestinians."

**Apr. 9:** The Jordanian Foreign Minister, Musa Nasir, was quoted by *Palestin* as saying that the Palestine question and "Palestine entity" were not on the agenda of the current ambassadors' meeting in Cairo. Referring to the visit of Sayyid Hasuna to Jordan, he said that the Arab League's Secretary General would come to Jordan "for consultations with us and with other Arab states on the formation of a 5-power committee which will draft a plan for Palestine."

**May 5:** In Gaza a UAR spokesman said that the UAR had protested to the Mixed Armistice Commission following a flight over Khan Yunis of 4 Israeli *Mystère* jets.

*May 9:* A campaign of violence, including a bottle thrown at actress Eva Marie Saint and the stoning of cars of members of the cast, was reported to be threatening the shooting of the American film "Exodus" in Nazareth.

*May 10:* A Church of Scotland report published in London said that the real problem of resettlement of refugees in the Middle East "cannot be touched" unless there are changes in the present attitudes of the Arab states concerned, of the refugees themselves, and of the state of Israel.

*May 15:* Mass rallies were held in many centers of the Arab world to mark the 12th anniversary of the end of the British mandate in Palestine.

Palestine refugee representatives met at the office of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine in Beirut, and urged all Arab governments to end their disputes.

*May 16:* The Palestine issue was discussed by Senator Fulbright and Jordanian Foreign Minister Musa Nasir with a view to find out "how the US could find a remedy for it."

*May 19:* Canadian ambassador to Lebanon, Paul Beaulieu, told UNRWA director in Beirut, John H. Davis, that the Canadian government will make a grant of flour valued at 1.5 million dollars for rations to one million Palestine Arab refugees dependent on UNRWA.

*May 30:* The Palestine question and its ramifications were the subjects of discussion between Musa Nasir and Paul Beaulieu, who was visiting Amman.

*May 31:* Wasfi Mirza, Jordan's Minister of the Interior and Defence, said that the Jordanian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission had agreed with the Israeli side that Jordanian farmers should be permitted to harvest their crops at Zabboura in "no-man's land" near Tulkarm.

*June 12:* Israel charged Syria with firing across the border twice at a tractor on the fields of the Beit Katzir settlement.

tinuing their detention of free Omanis and that 40 people were arrested during the past 2 weeks.

*Apr. 3:* Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah left Beirut at the end of a visit to Lebanon. A request for a long-term loan for £150 million to the Beirut municipality to be used for food storage facilities was discussed.

*Apr. 18:* Japan's Arabian Oil Company in Tokyo announced that the second well in its concession area offshore from the Saudi Arabia-Kuwait Neutral Zone had struck oil at a depth of about 5,200 ft. and flowed at a rate of over 6,000 b/d.

*Apr. 25:* Authoritative sources stated in Baghdad that the government of Kuwait was seeking the help of an Iraqi oil expert to study a project for the setting up of petrochemical industries in Kuwait.

*May 1:* Kuwaiti dockers dispatched a message of support to ICATU, stating that they would boycott all US ships, and would not load US tankers at the ports of al-Ahmadi and 'Abdullah, in protest against the picketing in New York of the *Cleopatra*.

*May 2:* The exiled Imam of Oman, Ghalib ibn 'Ali, and his entourage of 6, left Baghdad after a state visit to Iraq which began on April 21.

*May 8:* It is reported that oil has now started to flow from the Raudhatain field in North Kuwait to the port of al-Ahmadi through a recently completed 30-in., 63-mile long pipeline.

During the first quarter of 1960 Britain imported £37,300,000 worth of oil from Kuwait, an increase of £4,800,000 over the corresponding period of 1959.

*June 1:* The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London dismissed an appeal by 'Abd al-Rahman al-Baqir, the Bahraini nationalist leader serving a 13-year prison sentence on the island of St. Helena.

## Persian Gulf

1960

*Mar. 17:* Crude oil production by the Kuwait Oil Company in February totaled 5,697,381 tons, as compared with 5,078,913 tons in February 1959. Total production for the first 2 months of 1960 was 12,339,142 tons, as compared with 10,961,260 tons for the first 2 months of 1959.

*Mar. 19:* Qatar Petroleum produced 679,750 tons of crude oil in February compared to 628,063 tons in February 1959. Total output for the first 2 months of 1960 was 1,399,191 tons, as compared with 1,286,373 tons for the first 2 months of 1959.

*Mar. 21:* The ruler of Kuwait has invited bids from companies for an oil concession over the Kuwait offshore area.

*Mar. 26:* The Omani Imamate office in Damascus has announced that the British authorities are con-

1960

*Mar. 17:* The Mexican Foreign Ministry announced that Mexico and Saudi Arabia will raise their respective legations in Jiddah and Mexico City to the rank of embassies.

*Mar. 21:* The Council of Ministers issued decision No. 174 establishing electric power rates throughout the kingdom on the basis of 3 schedules of descending magnitude for regular governmental usage, for industrial consumption, and for the use of mosques and municipalities.

Shaykh Ahmad al-Shuqayri, Saudi Arabia's delegate to the Second International Conference on the Law of the Sea, addressed the conference in support of the proposed 12-mile limit.

King Sa'ud visited Mecca where he performed the Lesser Pilgrimage, toured the city and received both dignitaries and commoners.

## Saudi Arabia

Mar. 26: King Sa'ud ordered the release of all prisoners except those convicted of crimes of murder, smuggling and possession of drugs, in honor of the advent of *'Id al-Fitr*.

A proposal was made in the Mecca daily *al-Nadwab* in which the government was urged to issue a law allowing national companies to participate in the export of Saudi oil to foreign markets.

Saudi Arabians fired on an American private plane in the belief that it was an Israeli aircraft and wounded 2 persons aboard, it was reported.

Mar. 31: The governments of Saudi Arabia and Ghana agreed to exchange diplomatic representation of ambassadorial rank.

Apr. 6: Aramco announced that crude oil production in Saudi Arabia during March totaled 36,435,281 barrels, as compared to 35,945,948 barrels during the same month last year. For the first quarter of 1960, the yield was 19,192,872 barrels compared to 16,754,262 during the same period last year.

Crude oil processed at the Ras Tanura Refinery during March totaled 6,193,232 barrels, as compared to 6,258,952 barrels during March last year.

Apr. 9: It was announced that Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Tariki will be a featured speaker at the 14th annual meeting of Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association at Tyler, Texas, 1-3 May.

Apr. 24: In the course of a press interview, Crown Prince Amir Faysal stated that the Saudi government was striving to develop new sources of revenue for the Saudi treasury other than oil.

May 6: Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Tariki gave a detailed explanation of his plan for the international rationing of oil production at the TIPO 14th annual meeting at Texas. He explained that the proration proposal would apply only to net exporting countries—such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, and Venezuela. After his talk he left for Venezuela on a 3 to 5-day visit.

May 9: According to the Aramco annual report of operations, the company produced nearly 400 million barrels of crude oil in 1959, more than in any other year in its history.

May 11: T. C. Barger, President of Aramco, has announced that the Board of Directors has approved an annuity plan for Saudi Arab employees in which employees who retire under the plan will receive regular periodic payments. The plan becomes effective July 1, 1960, it was disclosed.

Aramco's crude oil production for April reached the record total of 36,316,934 barrels, as compared to 31,292,991 barrels in April 1959. Crude oil processed at the Ras Tanura Refinery during the same periods averaged 225,451 b/d, as compared with 145,793 b/d, respectively.

May 31: The Royal Decree constituting the Saudi Arabian Refinery Company (SARCO) has been published, it was reported.

June 2: Contracts for the design, construction, and operation of a 20,000 b/d petroleum refinery have been signed between SARCO and the Ralph M.

Parsons Company, it was announced. The estimated cost of the plant, which will be constructed on a 700-acre plot on the coast southwest of Jiddah, is \$20 million.

June 11: A Council of Ministers meeting at Riyadh, reported to take place soon, is scheduled to consider the disputes between King Sa'ud and Crown Prince Faysal. Among other things it will discuss who should be acting Premier in the absence of Crown Prince Faysal, and it will consider King Sa'ud's decree—issued in the defiance of a Cabinet decision—giving one of his sons the right to build a refinery on the west coast and supply the whole country with petroleum products.

June 13: The Aramco produced its four billionth barrel of oil, the company announced.

June 14: King Sa'ud appointed his brother, Prince Khalid, as permanent Vice-President of the Saudi Cabinet, *al-Abram* disclosed.

## Sudan

(See also, General)

### 1960

Mar. 23: The contract awarded jointly to two German firms for the construction of Sudan's first sugar refinery was signed in Khartoum.

Apr. 6: A Soviet economic delegation of technicians and advisors arrived in Khartoum at the invitation of the government to confer on a possible expansion of Soviet-Sudanese trade.

Apr. 16: A 12-month barter agreement between the Soviet Union and the Sudan was signed, under which the Soviet Union will send the Sudan timber, cement and light machinery in return for cotton and other crops. About \$8,000,000 worth of goods is reported involved. During the last 12 months the two countries exchanged about \$7,000,000 worth of goods under a similar agreement.

Apr. 23: A bronze equestrian statue of Lord Kitchener, which was removed from Khartoum after the Sudan became a republic, was unveiled at its new site in Chatham, Kent.

Apr. 30: Labor unions in the Sudan announced that they would take strong action in retaliation against the attitude of the New York dockers with regard to the *Cleopatra*.

May 10: Brigadier Muhammad Ahmad Irwa, Sudanese Minister of Commerce, Industry and Supply, arrived in London for a week's private visit as a guest of the British government.

May 13: Mr. E. Black, President of the World Bank, who spent 3 days in the Sudan last week, told a press conference in Khartoum that he had discussed the completion of the Managil irrigation scheme and the proposed Roseires dam. He invited a government delegation to go to Washing-

ton to continue the negotiations for a loan to cover the foreign exchange needed to complete the Managil scheme.

*May 23:* Four senior officials from Sudan arrived in Washington to discuss with officials of the World Bank a loan to cover foreign exchange to complete the Managil scheme.

*June 7:* Mr. Elliot of Wisconsin returned home after 4½ years in the Sudan where he helped in the expansion of the *hafir* program, a project developed to solve the water problem.

## Tunisia

(See also, Algeria)

1960

*Mar. 16:* Eric de Carbone, Secretary General of the French Foreign Ministry, received the Tunisian Ambassador, Habib Bourguiba Jr., in Paris. He was reported to have made representations on the work on the French Embassy wall in Tunis.

*Mar. 17:* The Tunisian government razed the French Embassy wall for street improvement, it was reported. The Ambassador's wife joined her husband in Paris.

*Apr. 7:* Speaking at the opening of the Parliamentary session, President Bourguiba expressed his conviction that France would leave Bizerte and Algeria.

*Apr. 15:* President Bourguiba said he had turned down another French request that he order Algerian rebel troops out of his country.

*Apr. 24:* Tunisia charged that French troops and bombers had violated Tunisian territory.

President Bourguiba warned France that his country was "capable of successfully conducting a war if she is obliged to do so by aggression."

*Apr. 25:* France called upon President Bourguiba to maintain order in his country and protect French nationals living there.

French army units in eastern Algeria have strict orders to respect the integrity of Tunisian territory despite hit-and-run attacks by rebel forces stationed in Tunisian soil, French officers in Algiers said.

*Apr. 26:* The Secretary-General of the French Foreign Ministry received the Tunisian ambassador and expressed "his astonishment" at the statements made by President Bourguiba threatening war with France.

*Apr. 27:* The Tunisian Information Ministry charged that French armoured units in Algeria opened fire with machine-guns on the Tunisian frontier post of Bou Jaber in the Kef district.

*Apr. 28:* Tunisia opened a Trade and Tourist Office in New York City to encourage increased trade and tourism between the US and Tunisia.

*Apr. 29:* President Sukarno of Indonesia arrived in Tunis.

*May 2:* The Tunisian government published a communiqué listing a series of alleged violations of the Algerian-Tunisian border by the French army during the past 3 days.

The presidents of Tunisia and Indonesia in a joint communiqué expressed "deep regret" over the French atomic experiments in North Africa and demanded a halt "to those experiments which expose a large part of the population of the African continent in danger."

*May 3:* France complained to the UN Security Council that Tunisia had permitted bases in her territory from which Algerian rebel troops had committed "more and more attacks" against French troops in Algeria.

The Tunisian government announced that the exchange of diplomatic missions with the Soviet Union would take place soon.

*May 25:* President Bourguiba said that failing an agreement with France, Tunisia would be forced to pass a law to expropriate land belonging to Europeans.

*June 5:* An agreement was concluded between the Tunisian Government and the Italian-owned oil corporation ENI which reportedly provides for the construction of refinery at La Skhira on the Gulf of Gaves and the granting of an oil concession in South Tunisia.

*June 14:* President de Gaulle's new invitation to the Algerian nationalists was greeted in Tunis with cautious optimism in extremely well informed Tunisian circles, it was reported.

## Turkey

(See also, Cyprus, Israel)

1960

*Mar. 16:* Col. Allen I. Morrison was sentenced by a US court-martial to suspension from rank for 12 months and \$200 forfeiture of monthly salary for 6 months for negligence in driving his car into a column of Turkish soldiers last November 5, killing one man and injuring 10.

*Mar. 19:* A trade and payments agreement for 1960 was signed in Ankara between Israel and Turkey. It provides for a flow of goods worth \$16 million. The agreement to set up a refrigerator plant in Istanbul with technical assistance and parts supplied by the Israeli Amcor concern was approved by both governments.

*Mar. 25:* Turkey's new Ambassador to the US, Melih Esenbel, arrived in Washington with his family. He succeeds Ambassador Suat Hayri Ürgüplü, who now is Ambassador to Spain.

*Mar. 28:* Nuri Eren assumed his new functions as Minister Plenipotentiary and Deputy Permanent Representative of Turkey to the UN. Neziha Manyas was named director of the Turkish Information Office in New York in his place.

- Apr. 2:* Minister of Justice Esat Budakoglu resigned.
- Apr. 3:* Celal Yardimci was appointed Minister of Justice in the place of Esat Budakoglu.
- Apr. 6:* Turgut Menemencioglu presented to the Governor General his letters of credence as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Turkey to Canada.
- Apr. 11:* An earthquake rocked Izmir and several cities in the Aegean region of Turkey. No immediate reports of casualties were received.
- Premier Menderes' forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union was announced and was received by the press, radio and the public with great surprise.
- Apr. 15:* Ahmet Emin Yalman was released under a proviso that he undergo another medical examination.
- Apr. 18:* After a debate in the National Assembly, all party political activity in Turkey was ordered suspended for the next 3 months. A 15-man inquiry commission, composed of Democratic party members, was established and it issued a prohibition of the publication of all news about the inquiry into "the destructive and illegal activities" of the opposition Republican People's party or the Assembly's debate.
- Apr. 22:* An uneasy lull was reported to have descended on Turkey following the establishment of the inquiry commission.
- Apr. 23:* The foundation stone of a new oil refinery at Izmir, near Istanbul, was laid by Premier Menderes. The nominal capital of £T231 million is held by American and Turkish firms in the proportion by 51 per cent and 49 per cent respectively.
- Apr. 28:* University students demonstrated against the government and were fired on by police. Five of them were killed and about 40 injured, it was reported.
- Apr. 30:* Another riot broke out in Istanbul. Infantrymen removed 2,000 student sitdown strikers from the Istanbul University campus to temporary detention camps on charges of violating martial law regulations. Martial law imposed 2 days ago was extended to 3 months and a curfew and a ban on public gatherings were enforced.
- May 1:* Premier Menderes ordered that force would be used to stop outbreaks in Istanbul and Ankara should that be deemed necessary.
- The foreign ministers of the Western Big Three met in Istanbul and agreed on how to present their basic summit policies to the NATO meeting.
- May 2:* Troops pushed back 2,000 demonstrators bent on shouting anti-Menderes slogans at ministers arriving for the opening session of the NATO meeting in Istanbul.
- In New York, 100 Turks, mostly students, picketed the UN, calling for the resignation of Premier Menderes.
- May 5:* Premier Menderes was booed, heckled and jostled by the student demonstrators demanding his resignation.
- Lieut. Gen. Cemal Gursel, commander of the ground forces, resigned.
- May 6:* Former President Ismet Inönü predicted that Turks would reject "the oppressive régime" of Premier Menderes. Mr. Zorlu repeated the government's charges that the Republican party had participated in the demonstrations.
- May 8:* The Military governor of Istanbul shut down the newspaper *Milliyet*, bringing to 8 the total of Turkish publications closed since martial law was imposed on April 28.
- The government disclaimed any responsibility for the invasion of Soviet air space by the U-2 spy plane.
- May 9:* The defense agreement signed between Turkey and the US was ratified by the Grand National Assembly.
- May 10:* The foreign exchange privileges of 8 Turkish students have been rescinded by the Turkish educational attaché, it was disclosed. While he did not give a reason for it, a spokesman for the students said the order, sent in letter form to each of the group, grew out of the participation of the students in the demonstrations in front of the UN last week.
- May 12:* Premier Menderes made an unannounced inspection of a street-widening project in Istanbul and was reportedly applauded by about 2,000 onlookers.
- May 13:* Turkish and Czech representatives signed a protocol to the trade agreement of July 9, 1949, fixing the value of trade exchanges in the current year at \$16 million both ways.
- A new trade agreement with Finland which stipulates that 50 per cent of reciprocal payments will henceforth be made in free currencies to allow for larger trade exchanges between the two countries was also signed.
- May 14:* On the 10th anniversary of free elections in Turkey some 5,000 students demonstrated in Ankara against the present régime and the police dispersed the mob with tear gas.
- May 15:* In a speech at Izmir, Premier Menderes vowed he would not resign. He said elections will proceed as normally planned.
- May 18:* Publication of the Turkish political daily *Aksam* was suspended by martial law commander Gen. Fahri Ozdilek in Istanbul.
- May 19:* Two demonstrations in Ankara were broken by police using tear gas.
- May 20:* Another demonstration took place in Ankara as crowds gathered to welcome visiting Prime Minister Nehru. The police again used tear gas to break up the crowd.
- May 21:* Young cadets from the Turkish Army War College marched through the streets of Ankara in support of the youth demonstrations against the government.
- May 23:* Robert College was closed by Istanbul's military commander after about 150 students had demonstrated without violence against the government.



May 25: Fighting broke out in the Grand National Assembly. Fifteen members were wounded by flying desk tops and broken chairs before the fighting between the deputies of the two parties was halted.

May 27: The armed forces, led by Lieut-Gen. Cemal Gursel, seized power in Turkey and promised free elections. Ousted Premier Menderes was arrested along with other political leaders. President Bayar tried to kill himself but army officers foiled the attempt and brought him away from his home.

Lieut-Gen. Cemal Gursel, head of the 6-man military junta ruling Turkey, formally took provisional command of the country in his own name.

Editors and students imprisoned by the former régime were freed. A new cabinet was appointed.

May 28: The new cabinet members were named.

*Prime Minister and Minister of National Defense:* General Cemal Gursel

*Minister of State:* Amil Artus

*Minister of State:* Şefik Inan

*Justice:* Abdallah Gozubuyuk

*Interior:* Maj. Gen. Muharrem İhsan Kiziloglu

*Foreign Affairs:* Selim Sarper

*Finance:* Ekrem Alican

*Education:* Prof. Fehmi Yavuz

*Public Works:* Danis Koper

*Commerce:* Cihat İren

*Health and Social Welfare:* Prof. Nusret Karasu, M.D.

*Customs and Monopolies:* Fethi Askin

*Agriculture:* Feridun Ustun

*Communications:* Brig. Gen. Sitki Ulay

*Labor:* Prof. Cahit Talas

*Industry:* Muhtar Uluer

*Information, Radio and Tourism:* Zuhtu Arsan

*Reconstruction and Re-settlement:* Orhan Kubat.

Gen. Gursel held his first press conference at which he answered questions regarding the moves he took and will take with regard to the administration.

A board of university professors and jurists entrusted by Gen. Gursel to draft a new Constitution issued its first report.

May 30: The imprisoned Minister of Interior, Dr. Namik Gedik, killed himself by leaping through a window.

The new Cabinet held its first meeting.

The US recognized the new Turkish government.

Britain and Germany also recognized the new government.

May 31: Gen. Gursel said that a special committee was investigating the question of guilt of the members of the deposed government.

June 1: The provisional government announced that all but 3 of the majority Democratic party of deposed Premier Menderes were under arrest and would be investigated for crimes against the state.

Former President İsmet İnönü declared he would lead the Republican party in the election campaign.

Foreign Minister Sarper said all international pacts made by the Menderes government will be abided by.

June 3: The junta charged that officials of the deposed government committed atrocities in an effort to conceal the bodies of students killed in the demonstrations last month.

June 4: A spokesman for the National Unity Committee denied that the junta now had definite knowledge of the mutilation of the bodies of dead students.

June 9: The new government decided to withdraw most of the Turkish brigade maintained in Korea.

June 10: Ankara accorded hero funerals to 5 "martyrs of freedom."

Former Premier Adnan Menderes and former President Celal Bayar have been moved from the Army War College to an undisclosed place, sources reported.

June 12: A provisional Constitution for the period leading to the election of a new Turkish Parliament was announced by Dr. Amil Artus, Minister of State.

The names of the 38 members of the Committee of National Union were announced. All are army officers.

Thousands of Turks reportedly donated rings, money and other valuables to the state as part of a campaign to strengthen the treasury and increase the value of the Turkish lira.

June 15: The company of Turkish infantry to be stationed as a token force in Korea sailed from Izmir.

## United Arab Republic

(See also, General, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Pakistan, Palestine Problem)

### 1960

Mar. 16: The UAR goodwill mission arrived in Caracas after a weeklong visit in Cuba.

Mar. 17: The embassy of the UAR in Washington charged Premier Ben-Gurion with "unbecoming behavior" while a guest of the US in view of his appeal to an audience at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York "to come to Israel to live . . . and if, God forbid, should it be necessary, to fight with us."

Mar. 19: President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir arrived in Egypt by sea from Latakia following his month's visit to Syria.

Mar. 20: President Nasir said that if Israel succeeded in what he said was a present effort to get more arms and tanks, the UAR would "get more too."

The *Egyptian Gazette* reported that the waters of the river Nile may be used to irrigate the Sinai desert, a report which foreign observers judged to represent the UAR's counter-measure to Israeli plans to divert the Jordan waters.

Mar. 21: President Nasir told a group of visiting American journalists and publishers that if the



US supported Israel there would be no room for better relations between the US and UAR.

**Mar. 22:** It was announced that offices for the registration of volunteers to fight alongside the insurgents in Algeria are to be opened immediately in Cairo.

British, West German, French and Italian firms have been selected by UAR to tender for the building of a £3 million car factory in Egypt, the Minister of Industry announced.

**Mar. 23:** It was announced in Washington that the US is completing arrangements with the UAR to show a nuclear energy exhibition in Cairo from May 8-30 this year.

A trade and payment agreement between the UAR and Cambodia was signed. It is based on most-favored nation treatment and on the clearing account system.

**Mar. 26:** The UAR and the US signed 3 agreements providing for economic development loans to Egypt: the first, a loan of £E7 million for use in financing specific projects in the national production budget; the second, a pledge of \$15 million worth of tobacco, cotton or soya bean oil and corn from the US; and the third, a loan of \$12,500,000 realized from the sale of US agricultural commodities in Egypt to be lent to the UAR.

**Mar. 29:** President Nasir arrived in New Delhi for a 15-day visit in India.

The Government Information Department quoted an "authoritative source" of the UAR as denying published reports that President Nasir had received and rejected a Soviet offer to guarantee the republic's frontiers.

**Mar. 31:** In an address to the Indian Parliament in New Delhi, President Nasir warned that Asia and Africa faced a continuing struggle against forces that still wanted "to monopolize and dominate."

The UAR mission to Latin America, presently in Costa Rica, met with President Mario Echandi Jimenez; *al-Abram* reported that it was expected to conclude cultural agreements with Columbia, Mexico, and Chile.

**Apr. 1:** A dispatch from Mexico City confirmed the possibility of a UAR-Mexican cultural pact.

**Apr. 7:** The UAR mission to Latin America arrived in Mexico City from El Salvador for a 10-day visit.

**Apr. 9:** The mission visited Pascual Gutierrez Roldan, Director of PEMEX, to discuss oil problems common to both countries.

**Apr. 10:** The UAR Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that diplomatic representation between the UAR and Panama had been raised to ambassadorial level.

President Nasir and Prime Minister Nehru issued a joint communiqué supporting the principle of non-alignment and maintenance of friendly relations with all countries. President Nasir left New Delhi and arrived in Pakistan for a 6-day visit.

**Apr. 15:** The UAR has announced a unified mobilization law permitting the call-up of all male citizens 17 to 50 years old in case of a national emergency. It replaces the separate laws of Egypt and Syria.

The UAR's first trade agreement with Pakistan was signed in Karachi.

**Apr. 18:** Stevedores and dockworkers in the UAR ports said that they would boycott visiting US ships unless the freighter *Cleopatra* was unloaded and serviced in New York.

Muhammad Ahmad Salim, Managing Director of the General Petroleum Company, had left Venezuela for a month's visit to the US, it was reported.

**Apr. 20:** *Al-Abram* editor, Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, reported that an attempt by Israel through one of her agents in Cairo to drop poison in President Nasir's food had failed.

**Apr. 22:** President Sukarno arrived in Cairo.

**Apr. 23:** President Sukarno and President Nasir conferred on topics ranging from French atomic explosions in the Sahara to the racial explosion in South Africa.

**Apr. 24:** President Nasir made clear that Communist Chinese volunteers would not worry him if they showed up in Algeria to help out in the nationalists' fight for independence.

**Apr. 25:** President Sukarno left Cairo for Conakry after a 4-day official visit.

**May 1:** The Yugoslav Foreign Minister, Mr. Koca Popovic, arrived in Cairo.

**May 2:** President Nasir accepted the resignations of Amin Nafari, UAR Minister of Communications, and Ahmad 'Abd al-Karim, Minister of Municipal Affairs. No reasons were given.

**May 7:** President Nasir awarded the highest UAR medal to the Arab workers, represented by the international federation of Arab workers, for their support of the Arab boycott of American ships.

**May 8:** President Nasir praised the Soviet Union in a speech at Damietta inaugurating a cotton yarn factory built with Soviet technical and financial assistance.

A communiqué declaring that the UAR Foreign Minister, Dr. Mahmud Fawzi, and Mr. Koca Popovic had "achieved an identity of views on most important international questions" was issued in Cairo.

**May 9:** It was announced that President Nasir will visit Yugoslavia next month at the invitation of President Tito.

**May 12:** Senator Fulbright conferred with President Nasir in Cairo.

**May 14:** Ahmad Husni, Minister of Justice and Hasan Mam'un, Mufti of the Egyptian sector, met and decided to concede to the demands of women that husbands should not be allowed to divorce their wives at will or to force them to observe "house obedience." The new regulations go into force on June 1.

May 17: The IMF announced that it had authorized the UAR to draw up to the equivalent of \$7,500,000 to ease foreign exchange difficulties resulting from a prolonged drought in Syria.

Prime Minister Nehru and President Nasir discussed the latest dramatic developments at the Paris Summit conference when they met in Cairo, an informed source said.

May 19: Prime Minister Nehru visited Gaza, and on his departure for Ankara, he and President Nasir appealed to world leaders to stand firm against any deterioration of the international situation and to spare no effort in the service of peace.

May 24: A government decree removed 4 major Cairo newspapers and magazine publishing houses from private direction and "reorganized" them under control of the National Union.

May 25: A Hungarian trade delegation which arrived in Cairo last week flew back to Budapest to report on talks for a renewal of the two countries' trade agreement discussions which were suspended when the Hungarians requested a discount for their cotton purchases, it was learned.

May 28: President Nasir met the directors of the now government controlled newspapers and criticized "caricatures of naked women" and gossip stories about "which woman runs after which man" and urged them to consider the press as a "mission and not as a merchandise." He urged them to write about real problems such as those faced by outlying villagers.

June 1: UAR officials boycotted a South African diplomatic reception in Cairo in protest against the Union's racial policies.

June 2: *Al-Abram* denied charges by US Senator Thomas Kuchel that the Soviet embassy in Cairo was a center for espionage and subversion directed against the whole of Africa.

June 7: The UAR signed the plan of operation for a UN Special Fund project for control of desert locusts.

June 8: President Nasir held a 2-hour talk with Premier Konstantin Karamalis in Athens.

June 11: President Nasir arrived in Corfu for a short visit and sailed immediately for Yugoslavia.

June 13: President Nasir arrived in Yugoslavia for a week of top-level talks with President Tito.

## Egypt

1960

Mar. 19: A long-term agreement for cooperation in petroleum production was concluded between the Egyptian Société Cooperative des Petroles and the Yugoslav Nasta Company.

The UAR General Petroleum Authority had begun construction on the first part of a pipeline network in the Egyptian Region.

A total of 370 passenger ships and 425 oil tankers passed through the Suez Canal during the first 2 weeks of March, the *Egyptian Mail* reported.

Mar. 21: The Yugoslav news agency *Tanjug* reported that an economic cooperation agreement concluded in Cairo with the UAR provides for the participation of Yugoslav experts in oil production operations near Ras Gharib, on the Red Sea.

Mar. 28: *Al-Abram* reported that Poland has offered to participate in the Egyptian Second Five-Year Industrialization Plan by providing credit facilities to Egypt in the neighborhood of £20,000,000 to enable it to import machinery, including oil refining equipment, from Poland.

Apr. 3: Ahmad Kamil al-Badri, Managing Director of the UAR General Petroleum Authority, stated that it was estimated that crude oil production in the Egyptian Region would reach 4,500,000 tons in 1960, an increase of 1,300,000 tons over the 1959 output.

Egypt granted 13 exploration licenses, each covering 100 sq. kms., to the Eastern Petroleum Company, for oil prospecting in the Sinai Peninsula, it was disclosed.

Apr. 5: Egypt has contributed £10,000 to the Malaria Eradication Special Account of the WHO, the largest contribution received so far from a country of the East Mediterranean Region, it was announced.

Apr. 9: The unloading of the *Astypalea*, detained at Port Sa'id since last December, started.

Apr. 10: The *Astypalea* sailed for home.

Apr. 12: Major Salah Salim, former Egyptian Minister of National Guidance, left the London Clinic Hospital after 10 days' treatment for kidney trouble and gout.

Apr. 16: *Al-Abram* reported that according to the Central Minister of Industry of the UAR, credit facilities made available by foreign countries for the industrialization program of Egypt total £164.8 million.

Apr. 21: A preliminary report on the U.K. trade mission to the UAR in February-March revealed that there was a big potential demand for British goods in Egypt, but the need for finance dominated the situation.

Apr. 28: Details of Egypt's Second Five-Year Industrialization Program revealed that of a total budget of £457,416,000, a sum of £76,260,000 will be allocated for 11 petroleum projects, of which the equivalent of £48,130,000 will be in hard currency.

Egyptian cotton exports from September 1, 1959, to date, amounted to 6,016,457 kantars, about 1.4 million more than in the same period of the 1958-59 season.

May 4: All public transport was halted for 10 minutes throughout Egypt as a demonstration by transport workers of their solidarity with the anti-American boycott.

## Syria

1960

May 7: West German experts and representatives of the UAR General Petroleum Authority signed an agreement regarding the establishment of a Petroleum Research Institute in Egypt, under which the West German government will make available the services of a number of experts and provide the necessary equipment for the institute.

The Western Desert of Egypt covering an area of 300,000 sq. kms. was thrown open for competitive bids by international oil companies.

May 10: *Al-Abram* reported that the General Maritime Transport Authority has approved the purchase of 2 new oil tankers by the Egyptian United Maritime Navigation Company.

May 16: Meewis Goudsward, one of the 6 men accused of spying for Israel in Egypt, was tried and he admitted having photographed fortifications in the UAR and having reported about them to Israeli agents.

May 18: Fernando Pacciolla, another of the accused spies, admitted his alleged participation in the Israeli spy ring and confessed having agreed to provide secret information about military installations in Egypt for \$1,000 a month.

Wildcat drilling has begun in the Rahmi area, the Cairo weekly *Akbar Sa'ab* reported.

May 22: Enrico Mattei, head of ENI, called on President Nasir. ENI is reportedly interested in obtaining a concession in the Western Desert areas.

The Chairman of Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields, Mr. F. H. Frangenheim, has announced that a Board of Directors has now been formed in accordance with Egyptian company law, *al-Abram* disclosed.

May 26: Egypt's oil production for April totaled 275,855 cu. ms., of which 81,670 cu. ms. were produced at Ras Gharib, 15,417 cu. ms., at 'Asal and 128,187 cu. ms. at Bala'im, *al-Masa* disclosed.

May 27: Southbound shipments of oil through the Suez Canal in 1959 amounted to 2,494,000 tons, of which slightly more than one-half was from petroleum products.

June 1: The Supreme State Security Court in Cairo accepted a defense plea for the medical examination of Fu'ad Muharram, a former Egyptian pilot accused of spying for Israel.

June 2: French trade with Egypt resumed normal status for the first time since the 1956 Suez conflict. The French government gave instructions to importers and exporters following the recent Egyptian decision to join the convertible Franc zone.

June 3: According to a Ministry of Industry statement, the Eastern Petroleum Company plans to drill 3 new wells in the Bala'im field. It also noted that the company's well Abu Rudais No. 60 reached the pay zone depth of about 10,000 ft., and that drilling operations on well Sidri No. 5 were presently under way.

Mar. 17: Damascus papers report that negotiations between the UAR and the West German oil firm Concordia (DEA affiliate) for the establishment of a jointly-owned Arab-German operating company to develop the Suwaidiyah oil field are continuing on the highest level and agreement is expected soon.

Mar. 18: A presidential decree was issued appointing the following 7 new ministers to the Syrian regional executive council:

*Labor and Social Affairs:* Col. Akram Dayri

*Agrarian Reform:* Col. Ahmad Hunaydi

*Economy:* Dr. Husni al-Sawaf

*Supply:* Col. Jamal al-Sawfi

*Culture and National Guidance:* Sayyid Thabit al-Aris

*Minister of State for Presidential Affairs:* Col. Jadaw 'Izz al-Din

*Waqf:* Sayyid Yusuf Muzahim

Mar. 22: Sayyid al-Munajjid, chairman of a committee to study the financial conditions of students, said that the committee had decided to exempt 580 students from tuition fees and to grant 535 of them financial aid of between 25 and 100 lire a month.

Mar. 23: The Minister of Agriculture, Ahmad al-Hajj Yunis, discussed with Luigi Pola, the Italian Consul-General in Damascus, and a representative of Fiat Company, the possibility of Fiat's establishing a center in Syria to provide training in the use and maintenance of agricultural machinery.

Mar. 25: The Syrian press reported that DEA affiliate Concordia has struck oil at Well Suwaidiyah No. 2. The rate of flow was not given.

Mar. 27: *The Financial Times* reported from Hamburg that DEA has entered into an agreement with the UAR for the possible joint development of the Suwaidiyah field.

Mar. 30: The Ministry of Industry said that arrangements were being made to launch a cement factory in Homs by the middle of April.

Apr. 2: The state security court sentenced 'Ali Khashman of Aleppo to 3 years' hard labor on charges of intriguing with Jordan and attempting an armed mutiny against the UAR.

US Ambassador to the UAR, G. Frederick Reinhardt, and Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Murad Ghalib, signed an agreement extending US technical and economic development to Syria for the first time.

Apr. 4: Fu'ad al-Kala'aji, Director General of the Weather Bureau in Damascus, said that a 5-year plan to strengthen the Bureau had been drawn up. The plan called for the construction of 3 weather stations with electronic equipment in different parts of Syria.

Apr. 5: Dr. Nur al-din Kahhalah received courtesy visits from Ambassador Frederick Reinhardt and

Canadian ambassador, Mr. P. Smith, during which they discussed relations between Syria and their respective countries.

*Apr. 6:* Syrian and Lebanese officials met at Homs to discuss border questions such as smuggling, illegal travel and the Homs-Tel Kalakh road.

*Apr. 11:* Minister of Agriculture Ahmad al-Hajj Yunis, said that his Ministry had submitted urgent proposals to the Presidency of the Executive Council, aimed at countering the scarcity of water which threatened the Damascus area.

A group of West German airport engineers arrived in Damascus to make surveys for a new international airport in Marj al-Sultan, suitable for jet airliners.

*Apr. 13:* The Director of the Peoples' Universities in Syria, Muhammad Muhyi al-din, announced that the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance has decided to open a Peoples' University in each of the Syrian provinces during the coming academic year in view of the flood of applications for places at Damascus and Aleppo.

*Apr. 14:* Talks between Syrian officials and a Russian economic mission led by Mr. Ivan Archibov ended. Dr. Nur al-din Kahhalah announced. They covered development and industrial projects to be carried out under the 1957 technical and economic cooperation agreement with Russia.

*Al-Wahdah* reported that negotiations on Tapline oil transit royalty payments to Syria were resumed in Damascus.

*Apr. 17:* A naval transport workers' union in Latakia announced a boycott of all American ships "in retaliation against the New York dock workers' picket line set up against the Egyptian vessel *Cleopatra*."

*Apr. 18:* The total exports from Syria to Egypt during 1959 were valued at 68,381,000 lire and a tonnage of 28,918, while imports from Egypt reached a value of 41,796,000 lire and a tonnage of 16,195, the Ministry of Economy announced.

The Ministry of Economy announced that licenses will no longer be issued for the import of motor vehicles, (excluding busses), washing machines, heaters, refrigerators, and other durable luxury goods too large in size to be smuggled, in order to conserve Syria's foreign exchange reserves.

*Apr. 19:* An agreement was signed in Damascus between Syrian broadcasting service and the Czech firm of Covo to supply 2 150-watt medium wave transmitters to be set up at Homs at an estimated cost of 4,500,000 lire.

*Apr. 23:* The State Security Court sentenced Khalid Faqiri al-Nabuk, formerly of the Syrian air force, to death on a charge of spying for Israel, but commuted the sentence to hard labor and loss of all civil rights.

*Apr. 25:* The *Dimashq al-Masa* reported that the Syrian Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs had recently issued Order No. 194, which classified IPC workers at Homs into 3 monthly-paid and 5 daily-paid categories. The minimum salary and

wage rates were fixed at: £S197.20; 290.00; 353.80; 464.00; 562.60 for monthly-paid employees; and at £S5.80; 6.73; 8.99; 12.18; 15.08 for daily-paid employees.

*Apr. 27:* Dr. Nur al-din Kahhalah said that the Executive Council had put one million lire at the disposal of the Ministry of Communications to find work for the unemployed in drought-stricken areas.

*Apr. 28:* An official UAR government source indicated that work on the new port at Tartus had been started by the Yugoslav firm Pomorsko.

*May 4:* The Ministry of Economy blacklisted the Italian firm Cottonificio which trades in cotton, and all its branches for violating the Arab boycott of Israel.

*May 7:* Dr. Nur al-din Kahhalah returned from Cairo after a 5-day visit during which he reported to President Nasir and Vice-President 'Amir, the results of discussions between Syrian officials and the Soviet economic mission on amending the economic and technical cooperation agreement of 1957.

*May 9:* Dr. Kahhalah and Mr. Ivan Archibov exchanged documents setting out the proposed amendment of the economic and technical cooperation agreement of 1957.

*May 11:* The Communications Ministry signed a contract with Techno-Export for a survey for a steel bridge on the Euphrates river at Deir ez-Zor.

*May 14:* Newly appointed UAR commercial attachés left Damascus for Cairo after a 7-day visit during which they conferred with chambers of commerce, industry, and agriculture and examined the economic situation in various Syrian provinces.

*May 15:* The census directorate opened a 2-week training course for persons to undertake a proposed general census of Syria and Egypt.

*May 17:* The Ministry of Communications invited tenders for building 3 bridges on the Khabur river in Jazirah.

*May 18:* Contracts were signed between the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs and 3 Syrian contractors for the drilling of 200 artesian wells in various parts of the country during the next 11 months.

*May 19:* The governor of Aleppo informed Syrian authorities of the violation of Syrian air space by a Turkish aircraft.

*May 22:* The Agrarian Reform Minister said that he proposed to distribute 4,705 hectares of state land to 198 peasant families in 5 villages in Hassatche governorate. He also said he would draw up a final plan to expropriate 49,489 hectares of land in 116 villages in Hassatche and Deir ez-Zor governorates during his 6-day tour of those areas.

*May 23:* Vice-President 'Amir arrived in Damascus from Cairo after a 3-month absence.

*May 24:* Vice-President 'Amir announced that he had decided to organize a National Union for Palestinian refugees in Syria on the pattern of the UAR union.

## Yemen

1960

*May 25:* An official source at the Organization for Major Projects said that it had been decided in principle to appropriate 85 million lire for the building of a new international airport near Damascus.

*May 28:* Ahmad al-Hajj Yunis opened a 2-day conference of heads of departments and directors of agricultural schools from the Syrian provinces which will reportedly discuss projects carried out or in progress, credits required for projects during the new fiscal year.

*May 29:* Vice-President 'Amir ordered the creation of a Dairy Board under the Chairmanship of the Minister of Agriculture and including representatives from the Ministries of Agriculture, Economy, Health, Municipal and Rural Affairs, Agrarian Reform, Labor and Social Affairs and Supply.

*May 31:* Vice-President 'Amir approved the composition of a preparatory committee to organize the first congress of the National Union in Syria.

*June 1:* As a result of talks with the Syrian Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, Concordia has agreed to pay the salaries and indemnities up to June 15, 1960 of the workers discharged by the geophysical firm Prakla, which has been making seismic surveys on behalf of Concordia in its concession area.

*June 3:* Dr. Nur al-din Kahhalah left for Cairo to join President Nasir on the latter's forthcoming state visit to Greece and Yugoslavia.

*Mar. 19:* Imam Ahmad inspected the new port of Hodeida and stated that Yemeni ships will anchor in the port after one and a half months.

*Mar. 21:* Fifty Yemenites, unable to swim, drowned when their vessel sank in the Red Sea. They were on their way home after having been expelled from Ethiopia. Only the captain and crew were saved.

*Apr. 14:* A Soviet ship bringing additional equipment for further work on the port of Hodeida arrived. It was the first ship to enter the new port.

Chinese sources announced that a temporary highway between Hodeida and Sana'a has been opened to motor traffic.

*Apr. 30:* The Imam of Yemen was reported to have asked the US ambassador in Cairo to inform President Eisenhower that the Yemeni government regretted the New York picketing.

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## DOCUMENT

### THE OBJECTIVE AND GOALS OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF IRAQ

It is now well known that the National Democratic Party of Iraq is playing an important if not a decisive role in the internal politics of Iraq. The leaders of this party have been active since the 1930's in discussing and developing a reform program for Iraq. They were the founders of the *Abali* group out of which the present National Democratic Party emerged.<sup>1</sup>

The program of the National Democratic Party—neutralist foreign policy, socialist pattern of economy, federal rather than unitary Arab unity—has become the keystone of the Qasim régime. The leaders of the Party themselves have been quite influential in determining the policies of the government. It is, therefore, of some importance to examine its aims and objectives. The document that follows was drawn up in 1950, and was presented to the members of the Party by Kamil al-Chadarchi, the then president.

In his address Chadarchi emphasized four points. In the first place while the Party was a socialist party it did not wish to ally itself too closely with European socialist parties because they had compromised on colonial questions. In the second place while the party stood for a socialist welfare state, it did not accept complete nationalization of economy, rather it accepted the principles of mixed economy. In the third place while the Party had fraternal attitudes towards similar socialist parties, it considered itself to be a "national" party and did not wish to align on all issues with other socialist parties. And finally, the party stood

for neutralism not only because that was the only way to decrease international tensions, but because there could be no alliance with the United States and Great Britain which stood in forefront to impose control over smaller nations.<sup>2</sup>

At the 1950 conference the Party also adopted the internal order of the organization. Anyone over twenty years of age could become a member. In addition to the local chapters there was to be a Central Executive Committee of seven to fifteen persons, responsible to the General Assembly of the Party which was to meet yearly.

#### HIZB AL-WATANI AL-DIMUQRATI

##### *Objective*

The Party works to achieve general welfare in all aspects of Iraqi life—political, economic, social and cultural—in a general, educational, scientific manner, upon the socialist-democratic principles.

The Party employs democratic means in the attainment of its goals.

##### *Goals of the Party*

#### 1. POLITICAL

##### *Foreign Policy*

a) The Party works to free Iraq completely in every respect, to promote relations between Iraq and other countries on a basis of mutual friendship and equality in accordance with the principles of the United Nations charter.

1. For the *Abali* group and the National Democratic Party see Majid Khadduri, *Independent Iraq* (London, 1951), pp. 31 and *passim*.

2. Speech by Chadarchi published on November 29, 1950. Text in possession of the translator.



b) The Party works towards attaining a (Federal) Arab unity.

c) The Party works to achieve freedom for such Arab countries as lack it, and to liberate Palestine to insure the rights and dignity of its Arab people.

### *Political Affairs*

The Party works to establish a democratic society. Its aim is to enable the citizen to be proud of his individuality in a society in which social justice prevails and poverty, illiteracy, sickness and fear are absent, and where citizens live in freedom with equality of rights and duties before law and without any discrimination.

The National [Democratic] Party of Iraq considers itself to be a voluntary alliance, established on the principle of mutual cooperation, between the Arabs, the Kurds, and other ethnic groups within Iraq. All these people have equal opportunities to foster their individual abilities and participation in political affairs.

The Party works to bring about civil liberties for the citizens, without an abridgement of the rights of: speech, press, assembly, belief, and association, so long as these rights do not interfere with the general freedoms of others.

The Party endeavours to bring about a democratic, representative, parliamentary system, in which the representatives are chosen freely and directly, and the government is responsible to the people through a House of Representatives, and there is separation of powers within the government system. It strives to reconstruct the governmental system so that: the departments are run by specialists and qualified persons, and the independence, dignity, and individual freedoms are guaranteed even in time of emergency by an [appellate] system to which people may have recourse against governmental encroachments.

The Party works to secure an independent judiciary, and to raise the standard of justice so that the rights, justice, and freedoms are preserved. It works for the revision of such laws as are inconsistent with the progressive aims and ends, and the enactment of progressive legislation.

### 2. ECONOMIC

The Party considers that the poverty from which the vast majority of the people are suffering is a catastrophe which must be eradicated to enable the people to live in a state of prosperity and security.

Since this poverty is a product of inadequate general production and poor distribution, the Party believes that there is no other way of fighting this poverty except by increasing production and improving the distribution of wealth through economic planning and by decreasing economic inequalities in such a way that each individual is assured life without needs. Therefore, the Party works for the following:

*First:* to put into effect a constructive development program in irrigation, agriculture, industry, trade, communications, and other productive spheres to increase productivity and to bring about rapid improvements in quality and quantity.

*Second:* to liberate the Iraqi economy from exploitation and foreign control.

*Third:* to improve the governmental and public fiscal institutions so that they are able to sustain the economic life of the country and bring about the required development.

*Fourth:* to establish governmental responsibility for industrial plans connected with public welfare, so that this control brings about benefits and welfare to all the people; and, to give direction to public enterprises and the national resources to promote general economic and industrial growth by the establishment of joint stock companies in which both the government and the public shall participate.

*Fifth:* to reform the ownership of agricultural land by distributing in small holdings the government-held land; to limit the size of large feudal properties and distributing the excess among peasants; and to bring about the participation of peasants into cooperatives so that the land is better utilized and the production is improved.

*Sixth:* to amend all existing agricultural laws, to increase the farmer's share of production, to establish new villages, and to improve the social status of peasants.

*Seventh:* to organize the workers into unions to safeguard their rights, and to support these unions in such a way as will raise the living standard of the workers, and to work in the improvement of the workers' condition so that they become a progressive force in the Iraqi society.

*Eighth:* The Party considers that the existence of large income differentials within the Iraqi society are an abridgement of social justice. Therefore, it works toward decreasing these differentials by means of direct progressive income and inheritance taxes, and by putting aside the largest portion of national income to provide sickness, unemployment and old age benefits, and provide further those services that will improve the condition of the majority of the people.

### 3. SOCIAL

#### *Health*

The Party considers it to be a natural right of the citizen to live free from sickness and malnutrition. Therefore, the Party endeavours to make it the government's concern to provide health centers of all kinds free of charge, and the establishment of essential measures to protect the people from diseases, and the provision of food to children and needy mothers.

#### *Education*

It strives to plan and establish an effective system to elevate education, a free compulsory elementary education, and the education of the illiterate in a given period of time, the widening of high school education and to make it free, the provision of higher vocational and agricultural education, the establishment of free university education, the propagation of general knowledge, and the dissemination of fine arts, and the elevation of the intellectual and financial standards of the teachers.

#### *Local Administration*

It encourages the citizens to become their own governors by participating in the election of township councils and running the local affairs. It encourages the planning of cities and villages according to modern methods, and the provision of chemically treated water and electricity in them.

#### *Emancipation of Women*

The Party aims to emancipate women and to give them full political rights of citizenship.

❖ The introduction is by BRIJEN K. GUPTA, lecturer in Asian studies, Southern Illinois University. In the translation of the document he has been assisted by KHALID ENANI.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### KURDISH LANGUAGE STUDIES<sup>1</sup>

Ernest R. McCarus

Kurdish today has strategic importance because of current political conditions in the Middle East, but it has long been of interest to Westerners for a variety of reasons. As early as 1787, the Italian missionary, P. Garzoni, published a grammar of the Kurdish of Amadia, Iraq (69) after eighteen years of religious activities there, and in the nineteenth century German and other European scholars of comparative Indo-European grammar gave special attention to Kurdish in their philological pursuits. In the present century Kurdish has continued to enjoy prestige as a scientific study, and military and diplomatic personnel stationed in Kurdish areas have given it their attention as well. This century has also seen the production of a considerable number of excellent grammars, readers, etc., by Kurds as an expression of Kurdish nationalism. Today the various Kurdish dialects are being actively studied in England, France, Germany, Iran, Iraq, the Soviet Union, Syria, and the United States. The discussion will be followed by a complete listing of all works on Kurdish known to the author; numbers in parenthesis after citations refer to this listing.

#### *General and Comparative Studies*

Most of the works on Kurdish during the nineteenth century, whether grammars or

vocabularies, were comparative<sup>2</sup> in nature, seeking to relate Kurdish to other Indo-European languages. The most famous of these is Justi's *Grammatik* (90), which uses all extant literature to compare Kurdish dialects with each other or with other Indo-Iranian languages. Phonology, morphology and syntax are treated in some detail.

Another standard general work is Socin, *Die Sprache der Kurden* (181). In summary form are treated the distribution of Kurdish dialects; Kurdish literature; Kurdish phonology and morphology related to other Iranian as well as non-Iranian languages; and a *Textprobe*.

An excellent general treatment of Kurdish is Minorsky (123), in which Kurdish dialects are first compared with Persian, and then classified into groups (basically Southeast versus Northwest, with the dividing line running from the Lesser Zab in Iraq to Lake Urmia). There is also a broad coverage of Kurdish folklore, literature and newspapers. Bailey (20) places Kurdish with Zaza, Gurani and Khuri in the Western group of modern Iranian languages. Hadank (72) is outstanding in his application of modern linguistic procedures, using a few phonological, morphological and lexical isoglosses to set up an East-West groupings of Kurdish dialects in agreement with Minorsky. But the main burden of his article is two texts,

1. This bibliographical study is modeled after the series of bibliographies on Arabic language studies appearing in the MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL beginning with "Syrian Arabic Studies," [MEJ 9 (1955) pp. 187-194] by Charles A. Ferguson.

Acknowledgement of thanks is made to Père Thomas Bois of Ecole Carmel St. Joseph, Beirut, for his making available his collection of Kurdish materials, especially from Syria and the Soviet Union.

2. "Comparative" here does not imply the setting up of a hypothetical Proto-Kurdish, but rather the juxtaposition of cognate forms primarily as a basis for dialect grouping.

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one Bôti (Bohtan) and one Êzîdî (Yezidi). Justi (93) is a comparative phonological study. MacKenzie (114) is a competent recent study of a grammatical feature in various Kurdish dialects. The author, who groups Kurdish into North, Central and South, studies the first two of these and finds that they agree in showing a formal distinction between masculine and feminine genders.

Since alphabetization implies phonemicization, and since there is a small group of articles describing the development of scripts in various countries, this "live issue" is treated in this section. Kurdish has traditionally been written in a form of Arabic-Persian script. In Iraq, Arabic script is still in use. Senator Tawfiq Wahby devised an excellent phonemic alphabet using Arabic script (186) and later a slightly inferior one using Latin script (188), but, unfortunately, neither has caught on. In Syria the Bedir-Xan family has succeeded in introducing a Latin script which has been adopted by Western scholars as well. In Soviet Armenia, Latin letters were originally used for Kurdish, but a modified Cyrillic script has been in use since 1939. There have been no publications in Kurdish in Turkey since the first World War.

The following discuss these developments, usually comparing the various alphabets: Edmonds (55) and (56); Kurdojev (103), pp. 11-14; McCarus (121), pp. 6-10; Minorsky (125); and Rondot (154), (155), (156), and (158). See under *Textbooks for ABC Readers*.

General bibliographies are to be found in Bois (35) and (36), Chirguh (43), Justi (90), Lerch (110), Minorsky (123), Nikitine (138) and Socin (181).

#### *Dictionaries and Word Studies*

Works in this section fall into three groups: (a) dictionaries and word lists; (b) special word studies, either limited to a given subject or found in polyglot dictionaries; and (c) books on travel, history, anthropology, etc., which contain scattered throughout the text the Kurdish terms for many cultural traits which often are described in detail. For the glossaries found in most grammars, see the listing of books under *Descriptive Studies*.

(a) Jaba-Justi (83) is the best-known dictionary, dealing with lexicon from the com-

parative point of view; Houtum-Schindler (77) and (79) are supplements to it. Other dictionaries are:

Egiazarov	(60)	Kurdish-Russian n.d. Kurdish of Urmia
Khâlidi	(95)	Arabic-Kurdish 1892 Bahdinan Kurdish
Nikitine	(137)	Russian-Kurdish 1916 Kurdish of Urmia
Fattah	(65)	English-Kurdish 1934 Kurdish of Iraq
'Aşri	(16)	Arabic-Kurdish 1949 Kurdish of Iraq
Mukriani	(130)	Arabic-Kurdish 1950 Kurdish of Iraq
Shahîr	(166)	Kurdish, Persian, Arabic n.d. Kurdish of Iran
Siabandov	(172)	Armenian - Kurdish 1957 Kurdish of Erevan
Beko	(28)	Kurdish-Russian 1957 Kurdish of USSR
Farizov	(64)	Russian-Kurdish 1957 Kurdish of USSR

Two articles providing word lists are:

Müller	(132)	Kurdish of Urmia n.d.
Adjarian	(1)	Kurdish-French 1910 Kurdish of Novo-Bayazet

Ross (159) tells of a voluminous Kurdish dictionary compiled by Major E. B. Soane and belonging to the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.

(b) Special word studies include:

Pallas	(148)	Polyglot dictionary 1786 and 1789
Klaproth	(97)	Kurdish and Persian 1808
Benfey	(30)	Names of months 1836
Rödiger-Pott	(153)	Animals, minerals, plants 1840-50
Blau	(33)	Names of tribes 1862
Justi	(92)	Loan words 1873
Justi	(91)	Names of animals 1878
Hartmann	(74)	Topographical terms 1896-7
Mokri	(127)	Names of birds 1947

Shahîr	(166)	Comparative study n.d.	Soane	(175)	(E)	(V)
Bois	(37)	Grammatical nomenclature (to appear soon)	Sulaimaniya, Iraq 1913			
			Soane	(174)	(E)	(V)
			Sulaimaniya, Iraq 1919			
			Fossum	(68)	(E)	(V)
			Kermanshah 1919			

Klaproth (97) compares Tiflis Kurdish with Persian and other languages. Rödiger and Pott, after presenting some general observations in Kurdish structure and literature, use secondary sources to compare animal, plant and mineral terms in Kurdish and other languages. The two articles by Justi also combine studies on cognates and loans with phonological transformations. Mokri (127) provides an extensive and useful list of bird names, giving for each item dialectal variants plus the Latin ornithological term, with cross references and illustrations. Père Bois (37) discusses grammatical terms chosen (or devised) by modern Kurdish grammarians. He compares, for example, the names of the parts of speech chosen by Kurd scholars in Syria, Iraq and the Soviet Union, relating them to non-linguistic factors. Sharîr (166) compares Kurdish, Persian and Arabic against a kind of Iranian root-theme, attempting to show a closer affinity between Kurdish and Persian than between Kurdish and Arabic.

(c) Travelers in Kurdistan have usually contributed only discrete lexical items: Brugach (38), Chanykow (42), Gûldenstädt (70), Hammer (73), Koch (98), Rich (152), Sandreczki (164), Soane (180), and Wagner (185). Barth (22) includes Kurdish terms in his ethnographic study on the Kurds. Nikitine (138) and Edmonds (53) supply a considerable number of native expressions for typically Kurdish features, the latter including as well many poems with English translation.

#### *Descriptive Studies*

Books that provide synchronic descriptions of particular dialects are:<sup>3</sup>

Garzoni	(69)	(I)	(V)
Amadia, Iraq 1787			
Mann	(117)	(G)	
Saujbulaq, Iran 1906			

Elbow	(61)	(E)	(V)
Mosul-Lake Urmia 1920			
Jardine	(85)	(E)	
Dohuk, Mosul 1922			
Beidar	(27)	(F)	(V)
Ziakho-Gezira 1926			
Şidqî	(173)	(K)	
Sulaimaniya 1928			
Wahby	(186)	(K)	
Sulaimaniya 1929			
C. Bedir-Kahn	(23)	(F)	
Syria 1937			
Kurdo	(101)	(K)	
Soviet Armenia 1948			
Sajjâdî	(163)	(A)	
Iraq 1948			
Amin	(14)	(K)	
Iraq 1952			
Avdal	(18)	(K)	
Soviet Armenia 1952			
Kurd	(99)	(K)	
Syria 1952			
K. Bedir-Xan	(24)	(F)	
Syria 1953			
Wahby	(187)	(A)	
Sulaimaniya 1956			
K'urdo	(100)	(K)	
Soviet Armenia 1956			
Kurdojev	(103)	(R)	
Soviet Union 1957			
McCarus	(121)	(E)	(V)
Sulaimaniya 1958			

Of these, probably all except Mann and McCarus had in mind to compose a grammar for use in the classroom. All are listed here, however, since even those containing exercises are really reference grammars, and all provide convenient descriptions of the language. Additional remarks on their suitability as classroom texts will be found in *Textbooks*.

These works generally present a description

3. Abbreviations in this list are: (1) Language of book; A—Arabic, E—English, F—French, G—German, I—Italian, K—Kurdish, R—Russian; (2) V—Vocabulary appended.

of the phonology and morphology of the dialect in question, as well as a glossary or word lists and varying amounts of text. All are based on field experience, or are written by native speakers.

Garzoni (69), because of its comparatively great age, affords some time depth for historical comparisons. It is fairly consistent (if awkward) in its transcription, and covers the grammar in broad outline. Mann's sixty-page sketch (117) of grammar and phonology is one of the best on any dialect, foreshadowing modern linguistic methodology.

Soane (175) and its abridgement (174) are linguistically unsophisticated works, but are especially valuable for their wealth of data. Fossum (68) is more systematic than Soane, but the author's orientation to the Arabic-Persian script apparently concealed from him certain features of Kurdish phonology, as the *r/rr* contrast.

Jardine (85) is a short but excellent sketch with remarkably complete morphological coverage. Beidar's sketch (27) also covers the essentials of morphology; a special feature is his emphasis on proverbs and short texts of cultural value. Şidqi (173) is a brief pedestrian sketch of Kurdish morphology in an Arabic mold. Wahby (186), in spite of a normative bent in lexicon, is an outstanding description of Kurdish, based on observed forms rather than being made to fit a foreign structure. While there is limited treatment of morphophonemic processes, phonology is ignored beyond a mere listing of consonant and vowel phonemes. Wahby (187) is a partial translation into Arabic of his (186).

C. Bedir-Khan (23) is another excellent treatment by a native scholar. Items of particular interest in the phonology are a statement on the treatment of Arabic phonemes in Kurdish; tables of frequencies of "letters" based on counts in a Kurdish newspaper; and phonemic stress defined in terms of morphological items. There is also a fairly complete coverage of the morphology. K'urdo (100) limits himself to morphology in his textbook, providing many short reading selections throughout the book.

The excellent Kurdojev grammar (103) covers briefly most of the aspects of the

language, including syntax. There is a detailed treatment of the linear phonemes and the morphology, including a short section on word formation. The author also provides a representative sampling of modern Kurdish literature from various countries and in various scripts. This book is also interesting for its many bibliographical references, especially on Kurdish studies in the USSR. McCarus (121) is an application of American linguistic methodology to Kurdish. Phonology (including stress and intonation), morphology and syntax are treated, with texts and glossary.

Shorter dialectal sketches are to be found in the following articles:

Chodzko	(45)	Sulaimaniya	1857
Müller	(133)	Kurmanji	1864
Rhea	(151)	Hakkari	1880
Soane	(176)	Sulaimanya	1912
Ivanow	(81)	Khorasan	1927
Shamilov	(170)	Soviet Armenia	1933
Shamilov	(171)	Soviet Armenia	1933
Nikitine	(140)	Urmia (?)	1934
Barr	(21)	Iran	1939
Nikitine	(141)	Urmia (?)	1944
Tsukerman	(184)	Soviet Armenia	1950
Miller	(122)	Soviet Armenia	1950
Sokolova	(182)	Turkmenistan	1953
Edmonds	(54)	Sulaimaniya and Mukri	1955
Kurdojev	(104)	Soviet Armenia	1956
MacKenzie	(113)	Bâjalâni	1956

Chodzko (45) uses a French transcription which is not always consistent, and his analysis is not very penetrating. Rhea (151), based on eight years residence in southeastern Turkey, lists consonants and vowels, describes briefly the various parts of speech and gives 20 pages of Kurdish vocabulary. Soane (176) takes up certain phonological features of Sulaimaniya Kurdish. Ivanow (81) uses a roughly phonemic approach, as did Mann (117), in his analysis of vowels. Barr's excellent description (21) includes a great deal of attention to prosodic features. Edmonds (54) discusses a particular feature of morphology, the rules of arrangement of pronominal affixes on the various parts of speech. MacKenzie (113) gives a brief outline of certain features of Bâjalâni, based on a number of hours contact



with a native speaker. Sokolova presents a detailed description, with palatograms, of the vowel and consonant phonemes of Kurdish. The other items in this list I have not seen.

Bibliographical studies on specific areas are Edmonds (49) and (50) for southern Iraqi Kurdistan, Kurdojev (103) for the Soviet Union, and Minorsky (123) and Bois (36) for all of Kurdistan by dialect areas.

#### Textbooks

All grammars, whether intended as textbooks or not, are listed in *Descriptive Studies*, and there discussed as descriptions of a language. While most of them are intended as school texts, this is evident usually only because of short exercises at the end of each chapter or because the author states that it is for the use of students. None of them, except perhaps for the ones that I have not seen, measure up to modern standards of language teaching. They are all really reference grammars, presenting the structure of the language in a straightforward fashion, leaving it to the motivation and industry of the student to assimilate the material.

Some readers intended for the use of students are:

Wahby	(188)	Sulaimaniya	1933
K. Bedir-Xan	(25)	Syrian Kurmanji	1938
Athari	(17)	Iraq	1949
Jindi	(88)	Erevan	1955

Wahby (188) presents reading selections to introduce his Latin script for Kurdish. Bedir-Xan (25) is a collection of articles from the newspaper *Hawar* (192), also designed to familiarize the beginner with a Latin script. In Iraq, Kurdish is taught in Kurdish areas for the first six years of elementary school, and Athari (17) is the fourth grade reader in this series, published by the Iraqi Ministry of Education. Jindi (88) is the Soviet analogue, used in the third grade in Soviet Armenia.

Discussions on alphabetizations are found in *General and Comparative Studies*. Following are some textbooks introducing the ABC's:

Ahmad i-	Arabic script,	
'Aziz (2)	Baghdad	1929

Jiawuk	(86)	Latin script,	
		Baghdad	1930
Azizan	(19)	Latin script,	
		Damascus	1932
Faraj	(63)	Arabic script,	
		Baghdad	1948
Jindi	(87)	Cyrillic script,	
		Erevan	1954
Sebri	(165)	Latin script,	
		Damascus	1955
Nebez	(135)	Latin script,	
		Baghdad	1957

The following articles have bibliographies on school books: For Iraq—Minorsky (124) and Edmonds (49) and (50); for the USSR—Kurdojev (103); and for all of Kurdistan—Bois (35) and (36).

#### Collections of Texts

In this section are listed texts collected primarily by Westerners, usually of an ethnographic nature—folklore, folk songs, fables, etc.—or they are religious works, translations of European stories, particularly literary works, and so forth.

The following books generally provide texts in Latin transcription with translation and annotations:

Lerch	(110)	Diarbekir; Zaza	1857-8
Jaba	(82)	Erzerum-Bayazit	1860
Pruum-Socin	(149)	Tür 'Abdîn	1887-90
Zhukovskij	(191)	Iran (?)	1888-1922
LeCoq	(106)	Baban, 'Lolo,'	
		Zaza	1903
Hartmann	(75)	Bahdinan	1904
Mann	(117)	Mukri	1906
Jindi-Avdal	(89)	Soviet Armenia	1936
Lescot	(112)	Syria	1940-2
Mokri	(126)	Mukri	1951

Articles with texts are:

Tchihatcheff	(183)	Erzerum	1859
Chantre	(41)	(?)	1860
Khačaturow	(94)	Erevan	1894
Huart	(80)	Kurmanji	1895
Socin	(181)	Bahdinan	1898
Makas	(115)	Diarbekir; Gawar	1900
Makas	(116)	Mardin	n.d.
Soane	(179)	Kermanshah	1909

Dufrense	(48)	Sö'örd	1910
Marie	(119)	Yezidi of Iraq	1911
Bittner	(32)	Yezidi of Iraq	1913
Nikitine	(143)	Urmia	1922
Nikitine-Soane	(144)	Urmia	1923
Nikitine	(139)	Urmia	1926
Nikitine	(136)	Urmia	1933
Edmonds	(51)	Sulaimaniya	1935
Lescot	(111)	Syrian	1937
Hadank	(72)	Bohtan; Yezidi	1938
Barr	(21)	Iran	1939
Rondot	(157)	Syrian Kurmanji	
	(?)		1945
Kurdojev	(105)	Soviet Armenia	1950

Kurdish translations of the Bible deserve special mention; the American Bible Society in particular has been quite active over the years, publishing books of the Old and New Testaments in various Kurdish dialects using Armenian, Arabic and Latin scripts. Four dialects are represented in this body of literature, which ranges from 1866 to 1953: Kermanshahi (10,11,67), Kurmanji of Armenia (6,7,12,47), Kurmanji of Syria (3,9) and Mukri (5,8).

#### *Kurdish Literature and Periodicals*

The oldest Kurdish literature, which according to MMe Rewşen Bedir-Xan (26) dates back to the tenth century A.D., was preponderantly in the form of verse, and even today poetry forms a large portion of native works in Kurdish. In modern times, however, prose works on philosophy, sociological and political problems, Kurdish history, etc., as well as romantic and other more sentimental themes have come to share the attention of Kurdish writers.

The first Kurdish newspaper *Kurdistan*, which was founded in Istanbul in 1897 by Mihdet Bey Bedir-Xan, has been followed by perhaps a dozen others in that language. The extant Kurdish periodicals known to the writer are *Hetaw* (193), *Hewlêr* (194), *Kheber* (195), and *Zhin* (197) in Iraq and *Reya Taze* (196) in Soviet Armenia.

A comprehensive survey of Kurdish literature and periodicals throughout the Middle East can be found in Bois (34), (35) and (36), which include translations of characteristic literary selections and remarkably detailed bibliographical data.

#### List of Titles Referred to in Text

##### Abbreviations

- BSOAS—Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies  
 IJ—Iranskije Jazyki  
 JA—Journal Asiatique  
 JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society  
 JRCAS—Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society  
 REI—Revue des Études Islamiques  
 ZDMG—Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

1. Adjarian, H. "Recueil de mots kurdes en dialecte de Novo-Bayazet," *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 16:349-383 (1910).
2. Ahmad i'Aziz Agha. *Elifba y Kurdîy* [*The Kurdish ABC's*]. Baghdad, 1929.
3. American Bible Society. *Incilla Luqa* [*The Gospel of Luke*]. Beirut, 1953. (ABS Publication number 677B).
4. ———. *Incilla Lûqâ* [*The Gospel of Luke*]. New York, 1919.
5. ———. *Incilla Markos* [*The Gospel of Mark*]. n.p. n.d. (ABS Pub. No. 678).
6. ———. *Incilla Xodê ê mê Isa êl Mêsibê nevesandyn be destê Madîtoş Markos Luqas u Hanna*. [*The Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ written by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John*]. Istanbul, 1857. (ABS Pub. No. 685).
7. ———. *Incilla Rabbê May Hisus Kristos ko Madîtoş nêvîsi* [*The Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ according to Matthew*], 1891. *Incilla Rabbê May Hisus Kristos ko Margos nêvîsi* [. . . Mark], 1911. *Incilla Rabbê May Hisus Kristos ko Gûgas nêvîsi* [. . . Luke], 1911. *Incilla Rabbê May Hisus Kristos ko Hovhannêr nêvîsi* [. . . John], 1911. *Amalê Rasula* [*The Acts of the Apostles*], 1911. Istanbul. (ABS Pub. No. 677).
8. ———. *Incilla Muqaddasî* [*The Holy Gospel*]. New York, 1919. (ABS Pub. No. 679).

9. ———. *Metbelokên Hezretê Silêman* [The Proverbs of Solomon], Beirut, 1947. (ABS Pub. No. 677p).
10. ———. *Mizganê Lûqa* [The Gospel of Luke], London, 1900. (ABS Pub. No. 684c).
11. ———. *Mizganê Marqos* [The Gospel of Mark], London, 1900. (ABS Pub. No. 684b).
12. ———. *Peymân e Nê e Xoye Mâ Isa el Mesîh* [The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ], Istanbul, 1872. (ABS Pub. No. 676).
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14. Amin, Nuri 'Ali. *Qewê'id Zîmânê kurdî le serî u nebu* [Grammar of the Kurdish Language], Baghdad, 1952.
15. 'Arîf, Raşîd. *Fîrmêsk u boner* [Order and Science], Baghdad, 1950.
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21. Barr, Kaj. "Aufzeichnungen über kurdische Dialekte," *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, dritte Folge, No. 11, 111-497, Berlin, 1939.
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36. ———. "Les Kurdes. Histoire, Sociologie, Littérature, Folklore," *Al-Machriq*, 53: 101-147, 266-299 (1959).
37. ———. "Remarques critiques sur la nomenclature grammaticale kurde," *Biblioteca Orientalis*, Leiden; to appear soon.
38. Brugsch, Dr. Heinrich Karl. *Reise der k. Preussischen Gesandtschaft nach Persien 1860 und 1861*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1862 (Vol. I) and 1863 (Vol. II).
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#### ERRATA

Three errors of attribution were made in Paul E. A. Romeril's "Tunisian Nationalism: A Bibliographical Outline," in the Spring, 1960 issue of this *Journal* (Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 206-215). On page 209, the reference to the document "Tunisian Decrees of February 8, 1951" (*MEJ*, V, (1951) pp. 354-359) included, incorrectly, the name of Benjamin Rivlin as the author. On page 211, the reference

to the document "French-Tunisian Agreement on Tunisian Independence," (*Current History*, XXXI, July, 1956, p. 52), as being of B. Rivlin's authorship was also incorrect. The two references to the short title *Africa*, on pp. 214 and 215 are also attributed wrongly to Dr. Rivlin; the work is correctly identified on p. 206 of the reference article as being of the authorship of N. Ziadeh.

#### GENERAL

THE BOOK OF GOVERNMENT OR RULES FOR KINGS, of Nizām al-Mulk. Translated by Hubert Drake. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960, ix + 252 pages. Introduction, translator's notes, and index. \$5.00.

Reviewed by Joseph M. Upton

This admirable translation of the *Siyāsat-nāma* or *Siyar al-Mulūk*, with an introduction by Reuben Levy, is one volume in the handsome Yale series of Rare Masterpieces of Philosophy and Science and has been accepted in the Persian Translation Series of UNESCO.

Nizām al-Mulk was exceptionally well quali-

fied to write a handbook for kings. His career is summarized by Harold Bowen in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*. He was born, probably in 1018, at Radkan, a village near Tus of which his father was revenue agent. His religious education was under a learned Sunni doctor in Nishapur. In about 1054 he took service with Alp Arslan, acting as his father's lieutenant in eastern Khurasan and subsequently became his vizier; continuing on his death in 1072, as vizier for Malikshah. Bowen comments "The celebrity of Nizām al-Mulk is really due to the fact that he was in all but name a monarch and ruled his empire with striking success." He was assassinated in 1092 by a man believed to have been an agent of the notorious Hassan Sabbah, although, according to Bowen, some

contemporaries laid the murder to Malikshah. That he was not murdered before, is convincing evidence of his skill and firmness. His death was followed within a month by that of Malikshah and by the break-up of the empire.

The compilation of a book of rules appears to have been requested by Malikshah in 1086 when he first realized the dangers surrounding him and sought their causes. The plan adopted by Nizām al-Mulk was to state a principle and then illustrate it by quotations or anecdotes revealing the wisdom or folly of past rulers. These form the most entertaining part of the book. But, as Professor Levy notes in his introduction, Nizām al-Mulk "coldly and clearly pointed out where the faults lay, though without a word in self-exculpation."

The most prominent recurrent theme is the ordeal each must face on the day of judgment when he must account for every dereliction of duty. This awful prospect is magnified in the case of a king by the belief that he is not only selected by Allah, but is endowed with every talent required to carry out the divine will in the smallest detail. This accounts for the stress which Nizām al-Mulk puts upon the vital importance to a king of great care in selecting officials, guards, and boon companions. It is interesting to note in this connection the emphasis he places on the selection of a vizier only from the family of a vizier and to observe from Bowen's family tree that five of Nizām al-Mulk's sons, two grandsons, and a great-grandson served as viziers.

Another striking theme is the virulence and passion with which the writer attacks heretics, among whom he seems to number anyone who was not a Sunni of the Shafi'i school. His concern reflects the increasingly dangerous role of religious dissension in the political organization of the empire which was to result in the terrible invasion of the Mongols.

The precepts concerning the administration of justice, the protection of the peasantry, and the prevention of oppression and official malfeasance called for an elaborate system of inspection and the employment of secret agents. But it is doubtful, judging from Miss Lambton's comments on Seljuq administration in *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, whether these ideals bore any close resemblance to actual

practice. In any case, this book has had a long and honorable place in the education of Persians and was included in the curriculum to be studied by the last of the Qajar rulers, Ahmad Shah, deposed in 1925.

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ISLAMIC LAW IN THE MODERN WORLD, by J. N. D. Anderson, with an introduction by Dr. Saba Habachy, K. B. E. New York: New York University Press, 1959. xx + 100 pages, bibliography to page 106. \$2.75.

Reviewed by Henri Laoust

Under this title are put together five lectures given in 1958 by Professor Anderson at the Law School of New York University, with the purpose of informing a non-specialized audience about some of the problems involved in making Islamic law (the *shari'a*) applicable to modern society. The author considers particularly the Near East, the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco.

The first lecture defines, by contrasting it with modern systems of law, the concept of *shari'a*—the revealed law for Muslims—and touches on some Western scholarly criticism concerning the origins of this law.

The second of the lectures demonstrates the way in which the *shari'a*, theoretically unchangeable but even in the classical period of Islam imperfectly applied, underwent, after 1850 (when the Ottoman Empire adopted a Western type of commercial code), two separate kinds of transformations. On the one hand, the *shari'a* had to give ground in the face of legislation and juridical processes borrowed from other systems. On the other hand, and particularly after 1915 (when the first Ottoman reforms in the family law were made), the *shari'a* began to undergo a whole series of internal transformations in matters which remained peculiarly its province—personal status, inheritance and *awqaf*. All this was owing largely to Western ideas. The reader will particularly appreciate the section (pp. 27-37), both concise and precisely documented, which

Professor Anderson has devoted to the various laws concerning personal status on inheritance which have recently come into being in Egypt (where the significance of the laws of 1943, 1946 and 1956 is stressed), in Jordan in 1951, (p. 32) and in Morocco in 1958 (p. 34). The chapter ends with a sketch of the reforms either projected or put into effect in Lebanon (p. 35), in Libya (p. 35) and in Iraq (p. 36).

The two lectures which follow bring out the meaning and the scope of the principal changes that have taken place in personal status (pp. 38-58) and the rule of inheritance (pp. 59-80). The elimination of the right of matrimonial constraint, the limitations on—and in Tunisia, even the abolition of—polygamy, a recasting of legislation on divorce, tending to limit the circumstances under which a husband may avail himself of the right of repudiation and to increase the opportunities of the wife to demand dissolution of the marriage by the judicial authority—all these figure among the most important reforms. The study of the procedures by which this was accomplished permits the identification of the three means utilized: a sharp definition of the competence of the tribunals, recourse to various solutions within the schools (*talfiq*) and refusal to notarize acts contrary to the new legislation.

In the reform of the rule of inheritance, much more slowly and more timidly done, what strikes one above all, in comparison with more secondary changes, is the establishment of the idea—this rather unexpected—of obligatory legacies within the limits of the (traditional) disposable third of the estate and, also within these limits, of the possibility of a legacy in favor of one heir without the requirement of consent by the co-heirs. Also to be noted is the very clear résumé at the end of the chapter (pp. 77-80) of the principal criticisms that have been made of the rule of inheritance.

The last lecture (pp. 80-100) sets forth, by way of conclusion, the various elements in secularization which now lead the Muslim countries (particularly Turkey and Pakistan) to move at full speed in effecting basic reforms and adopting legislative systems better suited to the necessities and concepts of contemporary society.

This clear and precise work, easily read, for

which we may be grateful to an eminent specialist, constitutes an excellent general view of one of the most pressing problems of the Muslim world. Too many questions are raised for us to be able to discuss this or that problem, even though one or the other might have an intrinsic importance belied by seemingly secondary consideration. But we may well pause to discuss a question that must be considered integral to the theme: the definition of "*sharī'a*" itself, a term which we might translate by "statutory law", or "code", or "*ibē* law", but for which it is difficult to find an exact equivalent in a Western language. (In the original "... *terme que nous traduisons par 'loi' ou par 'droit,' mais auquel il nous paraît difficile de trouver l'équivalent exact dans une langue occidentale.*" Ed.)

As Mr. Anderson so well says (p. 4), the *sharī'a* does not consist exclusively of those matters which, in the treatises of *fiqh*, concern the *mu'āmalāt* but also those of the *'ibādāt*: legal purity, fasting, prayer, *zakāt*, pilgrimage—and even, for some authorities, the *jibād*—which involve, let it be noted, obligations on the part of the believer that are both religious and secular. The *sharī'a* takes in as well the whole realm of the *uṣūl al-fiqh* "sources of the law," of which the principal ones (Qur'an, *Sunna*, *ijma'* and *qiyās*) are studied at this point (pp. 10-14). It would perhaps have been worthwhile, even in a work of popularization, to point out some of the other principles of methodology that have been advocated by various contemporary reformists (such as the concepts of *maṣlaḥa* and of *siyasa shar'iya*). But, above all, the *sharī'a* is still the aggregate of the opinions on fundamental matters of faith (cf. *Kitāb al-sharī'a* of Abū Bakr al-Ajurri) which Muslim theologians have developed at length in their works on the *uṣūl al-dīn* or have summarized in breviaries (*'aqida*).

It is difficult to see how, given these conditions, a complete institutional secularization would be possible without a new formulation of the articles of faith, by which religion, becoming solely a matter of personal conscience, would be defined outside any political or social context. Study of the traditional *'aqida*, still in vogue both in Eastern and Western Islam, will show that traditionalists will not hear of

turning to "innovations." But confessionalism in politics—still so deeply rooted—, the recrudescence of the missionary spirit, the growth of atheism, along with a number of other factors, all have the tendency to lead large segments of Muslim opinion towards a re-evaluation of the *shari'a*. On the other hand, meditation upon this same system by many sincere believers—who have not, however, joined in the kind of activism represented by the latter-day "brotherhoods"—has revealed to them humanistic values which, it seems, the modern world often loses sight of. A drama is being played out these days among the Muslim community, one of which too few Westerners are fully aware: it is not the least of the merits of Mr. Anderson's work that it helps us understand this fact.

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OIL AND STATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, by George Lenczowski. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960. 379 pages. \$6.75.

*Reviewed by James Terry Duce*

Dr Lenczowski has written an excellent treatise on that most complex of problems, "Oil and the state in the Middle East." It should serve as a primer for those interested in the area and the extensive bibliography will be of service to those who wish to inquire further.

Dr. Lenczowski has described clearly the political and social reactions derived from the massive oil discoveries in the Middle East. His discussions cover many controversial points, and both oil companies and government officials will disagree with him in minor matters. Basically, however, the difficulties that have arisen have come from the fact that more oil was discovered than anybody had supposed possible, and what were originally thought to be very long risks geologically and politically turned into some of the most profitable oil producing ventures in the world. Dr. Lenczowski describes clearly the negotiations of the last decade as the result of these events, and which in the main, have resulted in payments to governments be-

coming a combination of fixed royalties and an income tax taking a percentage of the profit, a fiscal plan imported from Venezuela where it was first developed under somewhat similar circumstances. The negotiations were further complicated by the gold clauses in the original Mideast contracts, which were greatly affected during the war by the high premiums in free gold markets, such as Jiddah, where the gold sovereign sold for as much as \$21.00 against a par value of \$8.52. Dr. Lenczowski's final statements in Chapter 4 should be carefully considered. At present, the latecomers are having to pay increasingly high premiums to break into the Middle Eastern scene, which is to be expected as they have the advantage of the ground work done by the early concessionaires over the last forty years. As the organization of the Middle East governments has improved, many of the early problems that the concessionaires have faced have disappeared, only to be replaced by new ones which have further complicated the relationships between the governments, the companies, and the people themselves. This phenomenon has been described by Dr. Lenczowski very well, and he comments on the rise of nationalism in the Middle East, for the extreme nationalists are ready to forget that "our" oil was discovered and developed by the great oil concessionaire companies at a time when these discoveries were attended by considerable risks. Some of the ultranationalists are now occupying themselves with the idea of extending the jurisdiction of their own countries along the lines through which the oil flows, not only through the pipelines and onto the ships, but into the very market where the oil is sold. This is imperialism in reverse, and is likely to arouse considerable antagonism in the areas where oil is marketed. The producing companies, as the author infers, occupy a position between the two sovereignties, that in which the oil is produced and that in which it is consumed, and they perform there a very special service as middleman. They are thus compelled by force of circumstances to act with extreme circumspection in order that they may continue to move the great volume of oil from the Middle East that is so necessary to sustain the countries themselves, as oil revenues form a high percentage of government income.

In Chapters 11 to 15, there are a series of excellent summaries of the problems the oil company faces with the public and with its own employees. The steps taken to improve public acceptance of the companies, those taken to train and develop an *esprit de corps* both among the nationals and aliens, and to integrate these modern organizations into the life of the Middle East are outlined and their importance emphasized. These chapters should be read carefully.

The author does not fully explain certain relationships; for instance, the Consortium in Iran conducts its oil operations not only on behalf of the state but also on behalf of its owner companies, a subtle but important distinction.

The reviewer might add some small corrections. For instance, the Sirip concession in the Northern Persian Gulf lies wholly off shore, as the concession of the Consortium extends three miles out to sea.

In Iraq (page 13), first, the Mosul Petroleum and the Basrah Petroleum Companies are associated with the Iraq Petroleum Company—again a subtle but important distinction. Second, the American group, besides signing the Red Line Agreements as part of the *quid pro quo* for admission into the Iraq Petroleum group, had also to pay an overriding royalty to the Anglo-Iranian for giving up half its 47½ per cent interest in the Iraq Petroleum Company. In passing, it also might be mentioned that British Oil Development, which obtained a concession west of the Tigris in Iraq, failed and, at the request of the Iraq government, this concession was taken over later by the Iraq Petroleum Company group.

The Bahrain concession was first obtained by the Eastern and General Syndicate and was sold by it to Gulf Oil. But Gulf, then a member of the American group in the Iraq Petroleum Company, applied to that company for permission to retain the concession or to transfer it to the Iraq Petroleum Company. The Iraq Petroleum group advised that it was not interested in this concession, and in view of the limitation imposed by the Red Line Agreement, it further advised that Gulf dispose of its interest. The concession was then transferred to Standard Oil Company of California at cost.

On page 78, it is to be noted that in the Middle East it is usual for the producing companies with more than one stockholder to transport and market the oil within each producing country itself, but not to do this outside, for there arises the question of competition in world markets, and this question is one of such nature as to make integration at this date almost impossible.

In Dr. Lenczowski's discussion of the Buraymi arbitration, it seems to the reviewer that the tragedy of the collapse of an effort to establish a judicial means of setting boundaries in the Arabic Peninsula was not emphasized fully enough. Desert boundaries are uncertain, and the *dirab*, the wandering area of the tribes, changes with the vagaries of desert rainfall. It was not until oil was discovered that the accurate settlement of these boundaries became imperative. Curiously enough, this was more important to governments than to operators of concessions, who had all they could do to handle their affairs away from boundary areas. The action of the British-appointed member of the arbitral tribunal in resigning at a crucial moment aborted the arbitral process, and it is at the British door that the blame for failure of arbitration must be laid. It is to be noted, too, that the Buraymi boundary question is only one of a multitude of similar problems that will arise ultimately in the area and to which the arbitral process could have been applied.

Even within the companies themselves there is often a wide difference of opinion as to how they should conduct their affairs, both with governments and the man on the street, and in criticizing the past, it is well to remember that problems which appear crystal clear today were often, when decisions had to be made, enveloped in almost impenetrable fog. The only remedy for the problems of the concessionary companies and the government is the practice of good faith on both sides, combined with a willingness to look at matters broadly. Therefore, Dr. Lenczowski well raises his admonishing voice when he speaks of a "firm and intelligent determination to do one's best to bridge such gaps between law and reality as the march of time inevitably creates," to which this reviewer adds a fervent amen, and



expresses the hope that all interested in the Middle East read *Oil and State in the Middle East*. It is a preliminary review necessary to the understanding of a vast debate, which is just beginning.

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MIDDLE EASTERN CAPITALISM: NINE ESSAYS, by A. J. Meyer. Harvard Middle Eastern Studies 2. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959, viii + 161 pages. \$3.75.

*Reviewed by Carl McGuire*

"This is a presumptuous little book. In scandalously few pages it tries to illuminate a very complex subject—the Middle East economy. Although it was written for the non-specialist reader, I hope that an occasional student of the area will learn from its pages."

These misleadingly modest introductory words by Dr. A. J. Meyer, Associate Director of the Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, open the preface of his series of lively essays and give one the feel of the book. Nevertheless, despite protestations to the contrary and despite omission of much of the customary technical apparatus of the professional economist, the little volume must really have been intended for the eyes of two principal groups, namely, the Middle East experts and the development economists, both of whom will find much solid fare to chew on in these pages. The truly casual "non-specialist reader" will enjoy the refreshing and vigorous style, replete with witty phrase and epigrammatic characterization, but he will not be able to savor fully the rich wealth of references interlarded in the text.

The essays are clustered around the theme of the economic growth of the Middle East and the title, "Middle Eastern Capitalism," may leave some would-be readers with an inaccurate impression of the scope of the work. The first two papers review on a country-by-country basis the remarkable economic strides taken in the area since World War II, a progress too often unnoticed in the West, and then go on to speculate about the prospects for the future. Dr. Meyer seeks to throw light

on the economic evolution of the Middle East by the device of historical analogy. Although some of the comparisons may seem a bit overdrawn, the conclusion is convincing in its statement that "... in view of the societal preconditions facing both 16th century [Mercantilist] Europe and the Middle East today, comparing the onslaught of forced-draft economic growth on these two societies may well prove more meaningful than analogies drawn from later periods of history."

The work devotes considerable space to private entrepreneurship in the Middle East—appropriately so in view of its title—but Dr. Meyer carefully points out that it is possible that the major investment and management decisions for the future may be made by the state, by the military, or occasionally by some quasi-public body such as the *Histadrut*. Many interesting facets of the commercial capitalism which in the past has been dominant in the Middle East are described. Industrial entrepreneurship, when it occurs, is attributed largely to "the standard Middle Eastern stimulant, international disaster in its various forms." Meyer challenges many commonly-held opinions, for example, that the East is "spiritually oriented" and not acquisitive, that the Muslim faith "inhibits capitalistic enterprise as the Catholic Church purportedly did in medieval Europe," that the typical Israeli is a European type enterpriser. One essay, "The New Capitalism: the Oil Companies as Innovators," depicts foreign entrepreneurship and its stimulation of local business through the so-called "integration" programs, as well as through general economic expansion. The tendency to replacement of private enterprisers by government planners is recognized and evaluated in another essay.

The two final essays ask the question, "What Can the West Offer?" to the Middle East in its struggle for economic development, and they come up with two answers: (1) economic doctrine and (2) economic policy and a point of view. Dr. Meyer is convinced of the very wide applicability to underdeveloped countries of the basic methods of Western economics but he also emphasizes "above all, the need for a wholesale and continuing reshaping of Western economic concepts so as to heighten



their validity." In terms of policy he recommends that the United States should do everything practicable to promote the continued flow of investment funds—private, governmental, international, foundation—into the area, and the expansion of foreign-exchange markets for products of the area. Economic aid must have priority over military aid. Regional economic integration must be encouraged. He further admonishes that events in the Middle East must be interpreted in terms of what is best for the peoples and countries there and not by a country's "publicly anti-Soviet stance." The West must build up its "intellectual stockpile" through education and research involving the area and individual Americans who go to the Middle East must learn how to live in the culture. Many of the suggestions offered in this essay have a familiar ring but it is good that they have been restated.

The reader who, like a prudent capitalist-entrepreneur, carefully calculates his costs and returns, will find that an investment of a few hours time in this interesting and imaginative book will yield substantial dividends in knowledge and outlook.

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## ARAB WORLD

FACE TO FACE (in Arabic), by Elie Salem.  
Beirut: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1959. 119 pages.  
£L. 1.50.

*Reviewed by Fauzi M. Najjar*

In its search for identity Arab youth has been caught between traditionalism and modernity. The one is no longer adequate to provide answers to the problems of this age, the other too drastic and alien to be espoused without questions. The confusion is compounded by the various recipes of salvation suggested by numerous prophets from within and without. The crisis deepens with the constant flow of diagnoses of its causes and prescriptions of cure for its symptoms. The need for constructive and meaningful action is pressing, but Arab youth seems to drag its feet.

Impatient with this situation, Dr. Elie Salem, an Arab from Lebanon, undertakes in this small volume of aphorisms to tell his Arab brethren what really ails their society and to provide them with the blueprints for a life of dignity and power. With unusual courage and unwavering frankness, he paints the crisis as essentially one of being. He, therefore, appeals to his Arab brother to examine himself and then his society, with "calmness" and "courage." It is within the soul of the Arab individual that the struggle should begin, the enemy is within.

*Face to Face* is addressed to the Arab youth as individuals and not as a collectivity. The author seems to have little respect for the masses. They are incapable of intellectual excellence. Questions of depth and meaning, like "Who am I?", "What is existence?", "What is man?" and "What is God?" can only be asked by individuals. Society is the sum total of its individuals, and, therefore, no study of it is profitable or meaningful without the exploration of the individual's personality and its potentialities.

This individualistic (I almost said Nietzschean) manifesto leads logically to the exhortation by the author of his fellow countrymen to awaken and join the bandwagon of modern civilization. Self-discovery must lead to self-assertion. "Why don't we [the Arabs] manufacture planes . . . or send missiles into space . . . ?" (p. 30). Lest the author be totally misunderstood, it must be admitted that he does not blindly turn to science and technology as the means to power. Behind technological advance lurks a "scientific spirit" that the Arabs must first capture and make their own before they can contribute to the technological effort of modern civilization. Consistent with his starting point, Dr. Salem is no victim of modern scienticism—he does not lose sight of man *qua* man, who is a totality and who precedes science.

This genuine treatise is marred by a number of clichés and elementary moralizations and by a highly didactic approach. No author can pronounce on practically every subject (from birth control to ontological questions) without lending himself to inconsistencies and superficialities. But in such a smörgåsbord of ideas,

any one may find something to suit his taste. The style is unorthodox, full of colloquialisms, and is sometimes pedestrian. But it is vigorous and refreshing with a touch of genuine humor. The author is not a slave of the expression, he is interested in ideas no matter how they are conveyed.

Reading this small volume of exhortations, no one can fail to be impressed by the seriousness of the author. Dr. Salem is not just an angry young man. The task he has assigned himself calls for those qualities of mind incumbent on men with a sense of mission: genuine belief in human reason and human dignity, reverence of truth, impatience with sentimentalities, and reliance on practical wisdom to determine the possible within particular situations. *Face to Face* is an honest effort at self-criticism and a welcome addition to an encouraging harvest of books on the Arab world by young Arabs.

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**MARONITE HISTORIANS OF MEDIEVAL LEBANON**, by Kamal S. Salibi. American University of Beirut, Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series No. 34. Beirut: Catholic Press, 1959. 262 pages. Bibliography and Index. No price indicated.

**LEBANON IN THE LAST YEARS OF FEUDALISM, 1840-1868: A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT BY ANTUN DAHIR AL'AQIŒI AND OTHER DOCUMENTS**, by Malcolm H. Kerr. American University of Beirut, Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series No. 33. Beirut: Catholic Press, 1959. 159 pages. Index. No price indicated.

*Reviewed by Hisham B. Sharabi*

Since the Middle Ages the Maronites of Lebanon have played a "role in the intellectual and political evolution of the Middle East . . . out of all proportion to their numbers." As a religious community, the Maronites were the first Eastern Christians to begin (late 12th century) a tradition of attachment to Rome. During the centuries of Muslim rule they suc-

ceeded in eluding direct political domination by Islam, and in contrast with the other Eastern Christian churches, kept their church free of Muslim influences.

The two books under review throw much light on major periods of Maronite history. In the more important of the two works, *Maronite Historians of Medieval Lebanon*, Dr. Salibi analyzes the history of Lebanon under Crusade and Mamluk rule (1099-1516) as presented by three leading Maronite historians: Ibn al-Qilā 'i (d. 1516), Duwayhī (d. 1704) and Tannūs al-Shidyāq (d. 1861). It was during this period that the foundations of Lebanese feudalism were laid, the earliest relations between Christian Lebanon and Western Europe established, and the tradition of Lebanese autonomy first developed.

The contemporary Arab historians, as well as the chroniclers of the Crusades, dealt only indirectly with Lebanon and the Maronites. What we know of the latter during this period is largely a self-image reflected in the writings of the indigenous historians. Dr. Salibi, while concentrating on the three chief historians of the period, makes ample reference to other sources, including contemporary non-Maronite Lebanese historians. In this respect the present work not only contributes fresh information on this period of Middle Eastern history but also provides interesting glimpses into a number of sources into which the Western researcher has had no access.

Although the book is based on a Ph.D. thesis, it is a work of thorough and mature scholarship. It represents another significant contribution by the rising school of Western-trained Arab historians to the history and culture of the Middle East region.

Dr. Kerr's book, apart from an introductory commentary, consists of a translation of a contemporary historical narrative by Antun Dāhir al-'AqīŒi, entitled by the editor of the published Arabic manuscript, "Revolution and Sedition in Lebanon: An Unknown Page from the History of the Mountain from 1814 to 1873," and a series of letters found in the files of the Maronite Patriarchal residence at Bkirki. It deals with perhaps the most important three decades of Maronite history during the nineteenth century, in which Lebanese feudalism

began to disintegrate and Lebanon achieved political autonomy under the Turks.

As Dr. Kerr points out, the 'Aqīqī narrative is limited in scope and manner of treatment; it concentrates unevenly on incidents of varying importance and makes only casual references to the major administrative changes of 1845 and 1861. The chief historical interest of the narrative lies in its description of the disintegration of political and social authority in Christian Lebanon and of the important peasant uprising in Kisriwan in 1858-1860.

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THE 1953 PILOT POPULATION CENSUS FOR THE FIRST POPULATION CENSUS IN SUDAN. Khartum: Sudan Government, Ministry for Social Affairs, February 1955. 183 pages. 10s 3d.

REPORT ON THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, THE POPULATION OF SUDAN. Philosophical Society of Sudan in conjunction with the Department of Statistics, Government of the Republic of Sudan, 1958. 110 pages. 12s 3d.

TWENTY-ONE FACTS ABOUT THE SUDANESE, by Karol Josef Krotki. The Republic of Sudan, Ministry for Social Affairs, 1958. 76 pages. 12s 3d.

FIRST POPULATION CENSUS OF SUDAN 1955/56, TOWN PLANNERS' SUPPLEMENT, VOL. II. Town plans prepared by Zein M. Omar. The Republic of Sudan, Ministry for Social Affairs, 1960. 145 pages. £1 16s.

*Reviewed by Harold F. Gosnell*

These volumes, with maps, photographs, charts, and lucid text, are based on the census of Sudan conducted in 1955 and 1956 by the Ministry for Social Affairs, the Republic of Sudan. British civil servants under contract with the new government and British trained indigenous civil servants did a remarkable job of enumerating the Sudanese in spite of the obstacles of ignorance, illiteracy, nomadic habits, lack of popular understanding of what

a census was for, and inaccessibility of many inhabitants due to the nature of the terrain and lack of transportation facilities.

The population problems of Sudan are similar to those of other underdeveloped countries. These volumes show how by use of a scientific census, the problems of such a country may be identified and steps taken toward their solution. Sudan is blessed with an abundance of land that could be developed and is therefore to be differentiated from countries such as India and China. But, on the other hand, Sudan, like other underdeveloped countries, has problems of disease, illiteracy, nomadism, religious frictions, diversity of tongues, overconcentration on one cash crop, unassimilated immigration, marital relationships, and a shortage of experience and administrative skills needed to run a modern state. A census is a tool for tackling some of these problems. Dr. Krotki and the participants in the sessions of the Philosophical Society use this tool with great skill and insight. Budding African leaders should study some of the cold hard facts so brilliantly marshalled in these volumes.

The 21 facts are 21 propositions growing out of the data that Krotki regarded as most significant. Here is a sample: "No more than three per cent of adults are literate and no more than four per cent of children go to school with a chance to secure some education." With this situation, how could democracy operate? In the first elections, some voters had never heard of "voting." How can such people learn about the modern world and its mechanical demands?

On the subject of polygamy the finding highlights one of the problems of Islam in the modern world: "One in every five Sudanese husbands and probably more is married polygamously at one or another period of his life. This he does at the cost of keeping large numbers of his brethren unmarried, with obvious detriment to the social stability of the country and probable lowering of its fertility rate."

Another fact is that nearly five per cent of those living in Sudan are not Sudanese. Individual inhabitants of this new African nation, fiercely proud of their new nationalism, are blissfully ignorant of international boundar-

ies, the legal basis of modern citizenship, and, as a matter of fact of their own citizenship status.

Not only are these volumes full of fascinating facts, thousands of facts and not just 21, but the materials are attractively presented. The photographs, maps and charts make a distinct contribution.

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LE VIZIRAT 'ABBĀSIDE DE 749 À 936. Vol. I, by Dominique Sourdel. Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1959. lxxviii + 380 pages.

*Reviewed by Hamilton A. R. Gibb*

It is exactly a hundred years since the first study of the vizierate was published, in the German Orientalist journal, by M. Enger. Ever since, it has been an established doctrine, reinforced by the philological studies of some illustrious scholars, that the office of the vizierate was of Persian origin, transmitted among other Persian institutions to the Caliphate, and thence to the political structure of Islamic states in general. It is true that an occasional voice expressed some uneasiness, but not until Professor Goitein's article in *Islamic Culture* in 1942 was a definite attempt made to relate the institution to the historical facts. A point to be borne in mind, however, is that only within the last two or three decades has there become generally available a number of sources by which the data of the general chronicles could be expanded and controlled.

The time was thus ripe for the detailed study of which M. Sourdel here presents the first volume. It should be made clear that his aim has not been to supply a history of administration under the 'Abbāsid caliphate, but is concentrated upon the development of the vizierate as an institution. With this in view, he has assembled all the available data relating to the holders of administrative offices at the capital, whether called *wazīr* or not. The conclusion that emerges from this massive documentation is that the vizierate, far from being an institution taken over or re-introduced from Sasanid

Persian practice or tradition, developed only very slowly and gradually out of the interaction of the increasing corps of secretaries, the needs of administrative control, and the political and economic situation of the Caliphate. The reviewer finds himself in complete accord with this argument, in the light of the results of a seminar devoted to the same subject some two or three years ago.

Even within the restricted frame of reference which the author has set for himself, however, the study involves an examination of several critical episodes in the history of the 'Abbāsid caliphate, such as the disgrace of the Barmakids, the civil war in the following decade, and the Samarra period. These are not the less valuable because he has rigorously excluded every element of speculation from his survey. A complete history of such episodes perhaps cannot be attempted without some admixture of deduction, combination, or even speculation, but he has set out in precise detail the factual framework within which these operations must henceforward be conducted. A case in point is the conflict between al-Faḍl b. Rabi' and the Barmakids. M. Sourdel rightly discounts the supposition that the conflict can be presented as a "national" struggle between Arab and Persian, but beyond the factor of personal ambition finds evidence only for a conflict for supremacy between the rival offices of chamberlain and vizier. The later literary projections of the episode, no doubt, suggest that wider issues were, at least, felt to lie beneath its surface features, but it is a nice historical problem whether the protagonists were consciously aware of them.

As regards the word *wazīr* itself, M. Sourdel again confines himself to the philological and literary evidence for its Arabic derivation, to the exclusion of a Persian origin. The argument is entirely convincing, yet it remains a question how such a strange term (strange in an Arab environment) as "burden-bearer" came to be used in the sense of "confidant" or "spokesman." The question may be presently insoluble, but the possibility of some outside source for the concept is not *a priori* to be excluded. To ask such questions, however, is to go beyond the limits set for the study, which deserves, and will certainly receive, a warm

welcome and a keen desire for its speedy continuation.

- ◆ HAMILTON A. R. GIBB is Director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University.

DER YEMEN. DAS VERBOTENE LAND, by Gunther Pawelke. Dusseldorf: Econ Verlag, 1959. 212 pages. 57 photographs (3 in color). Bibliography and index. DM 16.80.

*Reviewed by Eric Macro*

A current matter for astonishment and regret in London is the refusal to translate Dr. Pawelke's book because it contains nothing new about a country with which readers of Glubb Pasha's books are not already familiar. Perhaps Americans will not be so guilty of such a lamentable lack of appreciation of the elements of Arabian geography.

Those who only read English will be deprived, by this ill-founded decision, of the acquisition of a worthwhile book on a country even now little known and sparsely documented. A creditable piece of book production (the typography, format, design and both color and black and white photographs are good), this publication is the result of the author's diplomatic mission to the Imam in October 1953. In 1950 Dr. Pawelke entered the foreign service of the West German Republic and in 1952-4 served as Minister in Egypt and, ex-officio, Ambassador to the Yemen. He had a five-day stay in Aden before travelling to Ta'iz with Dr. Karrenberg and two others from Krupp's sent to study the coal and oil shale deposits already investigated by Karle Fricke the previous spring. Having completed his business in Ta'iz Dr. Pawelke undertook what now seems to have become the "number one treatment"—a journey to Ibb, Yerim, Dhamar, Sanaa, Marib and Hodeida—much of it by air. However, the fact that such journeys by Europeans are now becoming a commonplace does not detract from their interest and the reader is always glad to peruse the narratives of such travels, eagerly seeking new facts and trends. The account of the Ambassador's journey is filled out with chapters of history, the Imam, the Army, law and constitution, the new capital, art, science and

economy. The specialist should not despise what he has read before or boggle at some inaccuracies which he may detect. This book is not written for him but he will be glad of plenty of new information which he can glean from this pleasant and witty narrative about a fascinating country so fast and so regrettably slipping away from its time-honored exclusiveness.

- ◆ WING COMMANDER ERIC MACRO, Royal Air Force, a specialist on the bibliography and history of exploration of Southern Arabia and the Yemen, is currently at the Air Ministry, London.

THE ETHIOPIANS, AN INTRODUCTION TO COUNTRY AND PEOPLE, by Edward Ullendorff. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. xiv + 232 pages. Select bibliography. Index. 30s.

*Reviewed by Simon D. Messing*

Most of this book could be more accurately entitled "History of Ethiopic Studies."

This is not surprising, for it reflects the work of the scholarly author in the Semitic languages of ancient Abyssinia, the church literature, and the derivative modern languages in Eritrea and some neighboring Ethiopian provinces. These chapters V, VI, and VII are the pièces de resistance. Particularly expert are the analyses of the syncretism in Abyssinian Christianity and of the importance attached to the significance of "name" (p. 104).

Chapter I, "Exploration and Study," lists and connects the Ethiopic scholars among the "ethiopisants" who were the author's predecessors. But scholars and scientific observers who labored in disciplines other than linguistic are neglected. Even the bibliography, which the author claims is "catholic" (p. viii) omits Marcel Griaule, V. L. Grottanelli, Michel Leiris, Philipp Paulitschke, Alberto Pollera, W. Thesiger, Samuel Zwemer and others.

The introductory chapters on country and people which follow, can be considered standard. But even a non-anthropologist should not refer to linguistic and geographic entities such as Hamites, Galla, Afar-Saho, etc. as "racial" (pp. 32-40). There is no "Cushitic race."

Slips include repeated references to "pagan-



ism" (pp. 42-4, 55, 62-3, 69, 97, 101, 103-4, 112) and even "purest animism" (p. 112), which vague designations the author never defines. Similarly unexplained are references to Abyssinian feudalism (pp. 79, 86, 93, 188).

The chapter on "Daily Life and Customs" consists of sketchy paragraphs on the calendar, death, and government. The latter institution of social structure should deserve at least a chapter by itself or be omitted from analysis. Meanwhile one misses even a mention of the significant Abyssinian ethnic division of labor, or the dynamics of public administration. This chapter contains a number of statements which observation in the field would contradict: "relations between the sexes appear free from dissimulation and pretence" (p. 178), "marriage preceded by a long engagement until the bride reaches puberty" (p. 179), "during the engagement the bridegroom is not supposed to meet his betrothed or any of her female relations" (*ibid.*), "the writer cannot recall ever having witnessed a public quarrel" (p. 182). How the author avoided witnessing such a scene, even from his library window, is puzzling. He himself refers to the famous Abyssinian art of public litigation (p. 186).

Modern Ethiopian administrators will be surprised and hardly happy to learn that the "verdict of the *lebasba* is generally accepted." Present judicial processes do not recognize such thief-catching-by-magic.

One can conclude that this book contains some valuable summaries of Ethiopic language and literature, and readers should therefore be directed to chapters V, VI, and VII.

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## IRAN

PERSIAN CITIES, by Laurence Lockhart. London: Luzac & Company Ltd., 1960. x + 188 pages. 63 illustrations, bibliography and index. £3 3s.

*Reviewed by Donald N. Wilber*

This work is a reissue of the author's *Famous Cities of Iran*, published in 1939 and long out of print. The original work dealt with 16

towns, the present one with 23 cities. The text has been entirely rewritten, new illustrations provided—several in color—and the format is larger.

The reviewer enjoyed the work for a number of reasons, notably because he has visited 22 of the 23 cities and found pleasure in the reliability and charm of these accounts. Dr. Lockhart handles his many Persian and European sources with equal fluency and familiarity and has dredged up masses of neglected facts and forgotten sidelights of history. Nothing else in Persian or another language covers his subject. While it is difficult to select high points, the author's insight and learning seem most notable in the chapters on Susa, Shustar, Ardabil, Qum, and Meshed.

The volume is not intended to be a modern guide book to these cities, and such information as means of travel, names of hotels and restaurants, and tips to shoppers are not included. The major emphasis is upon the historical past and in particular upon the unique characteristics of each town. The visitor to Iran would be well advised to take this work along and to have as supplements the Guide Bleu volume, *Moyen Orient*, Paris, 1956, by Robert Boulanger (listed in the bibliography), and *A Guide to Iran*, Teheran, 1956 (fourth edition), by G. H. Ebtehaj.

The style of the work is not especially lively or vivacious; it intends to be a straight forward recital of facts but the text is brightened by fairly numerous reflections of the writer's personal feelings and opinions. He objects to the incongruous garden set down recently in the vast Maidan-i-Shah at Isfahan; many others would be glad to join him in a campaign to do away with this inappropriate excrescence. Throughout he has warm words in praise of the work of restoring the ancient monuments of the country undertaken under Reza Shah the Great and continued at an accelerated pace in the post-war period. He reports that a small portion of the famous bazaar of Karim Khan Zand at Shiraz was sacrificed when a modern avenue was cut through it at right angles—actually that act of official barbarism destroyed the majesty of this lofty, vaulted bazaar.

This volume is singularly free from errors of facts but on a number of minor points other



interpretations are possible. Several such come to light in any chapter—say Shiraz. Mohammad Nemazee, donor of the Shiraz Medical Center, did not make a large fortune in the United States but derived those funds from a family business with offices at Bombay and Hongkong. Nor is the wine of Shiraz too similar to sherry; heady and sweet, it resembles Malaga wine. The structure over the grave of Hafiz is not a small domed building but an open pavilion, and the mausoleum of Sa'di was not rebuilt but is a new construction in modern style with decorative details based on earlier Persian faience.

The bibliography includes several titles in Persian, although not so designated beyond listing the place of publication as Tehran. To those titles might be added the *Rahnama-yi-Shahr Tebran* (Guide to Tehran), published at Tehran in 1949 by the Police Administration and the Geographical Section of the General Staff, and the *Rahnama-yi-Meshed* (Guide to Meshed), by Gholam Reza Yazdi, printed at Meshed in 1955. It may also be appropriate to recall to mind a fascinating work dealing with the pilgrimage to Meshed, *The Glory of the Shia World*, by P. M. Sykes.

From Lockhart's pages the many-faceted, checkered history of Iran comes to light in specific times and places, and the remarkable continuity of the culture of the country and the vitality of its people stand out in full relief.

- ◇ DONALD N. WILBER is author of books and articles on Iran and has traveled widely throughout that country.

## ISRAEL

THE ARABS IN ISRAEL, by Walter Schwarz.  
London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1960. 172 pages. 21s.

Reviewed by Frank Meissner

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion spelled out the goal for Israel in the following words: "The Messianic vision that has lighted our path for thousands of years . . . has imposed on us the duty of becoming a model people and building a model state." This lofty ideal sets a good

criterion against which to gauge the performance of Israel.

Mr. Schwarz simply asks whether Israel's dealing with the 220,000 Arabs—one-tenth of her population—sets a desirable precedent for countries that have minority problems. Judged by Israel's high moral standards, Mr. Schwarz' answer is a slightly qualified "no." Let us start with the favorable qualifications. The Arab minority is materially relatively well off. The Israelis are proud of the way in which the Arabs have contributed to and benefited from the planned and expanding welfare state. The Arabs have duly elected representatives in the Knesset, the Israeli Parliament; the able among their children have an excellent education waiting for them.

The positive achievements are somehow entirely over-shadowed by the negatives: military government in Arab parts of the country, curfew, and other limitations on freedom. The Israeli Arabs are admittedly a security problem; they have little sense of loyalty to their new fellow citizens. In a country that is in a continuous danger of strangulation by the Arab bloc, security has priority over practically any other consideration. This, in a way, provides the rationale for keeping Arabs in a second-class citizenship position—just a notch below the majority of Oriental Jews of Israel. The difference here is that for the latter, the status is strictly temporary, while for the Arabs, it threatens to be somewhat more permanent.

The Israelis are not doing enough to change the course of these developments. The Arabs obviously have many specific grievances: displaced villagers have received inadequate compensation for the confiscated land; to add insult to injury, they have to watch new *kibbutzim* prosper on the land that was theirs. Furthermore, Israelis know little about the problems of their Arab fellow citizens, and care less. To be ignored is alone a cause for grievance. This is a pity because Israel is the only place where a great number of Arabs and Jews can meet in peace. One somehow wishes that a part of the Israeli zeal for hobby-archeology could be channeled into hobby-anthropology focused on their Arab fellow citizens. After all, the relatively well off Israeli Arabs might

be persuaded to serve as a catalyst for triggering social progress in the Middle East.

Mr. Schwarz has produced an exceedingly well written and well balanced book. He will be denounced by "patriotic" Israelis as well as Arabs. For those interested in both sides of the coin, this essay provides the necessary grains of salt by which to season the official propaganda pouring out of Cairo and Jerusalem.

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## NORTH AFRICA

ARABISCHER WESTEN: DER MAGHRIB IN BEWEGUNG, by Friedrich-Wilhelm Fernau. Stuttgart: Curt E. Schwab, 1959. 205 pages. Index. No price indicated.

ALGERISCHE FRAGE: RECHTLICH-POLITISCHE STUDIE, by Thomas Oppermann. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1959. 197 pages. Appendices and index. No price indicated.

*Reviewed by Manfred Halpern*

With admirable clarity, precision, and perspective, Fernau, a former member of the German foreign service turned correspondent, analyzes recent internal and regional politics in North Africa. It would be a great service if, like the author's previous work, *Moslems on the March* (New York: Knopf, 1953), this book were translated into English to become the first reasoned and informed account in our language of the roots, shape, and direction of present Maghribian conflicts.

Fernau's book utilized no new sources or concepts and presents no novel materials. Its special virtues lie elsewhere. It puts together the relevant facts knowledgeably and with dispassionate judgment. Thus in little over twenty pages, without any sense of crowding, we learn of Tunisia's distinct character within North Africa (like Lebanon it has had the longest and closest contact with the Latin West; unlike Lebanon it remained homogeneous). We find Bourguiba's personal and political biography, and that of some of his principal collaborators and opponents. (Is it altogether accidental that the exiled former Secretary Gen-

eral of the Neo-Destour, Salih bin Yussuf, resolute advocate of violence against dissident Muslims no less than Frenchmen, comes from Djerba where the tradition of the majority is Kharajite?) We learn of the close bonds between trade unions and the Neo-Destour Party and the significant areas of freedom within the Tunisian one-party state. We also gain a realistic picture of social and economic problems that remain to be solved in the poorest of North African countries. In similar fashion, Fernau deals with each country in the first half of the book.

In the second half, discussing issues of Islamic reform, Maghribian and Arab unity, oil, and Saharan affairs, the particular analytical strength of Fernau's book—his ability to make revealing and succinct comparisons between the Arab East and the Arab West—is especially evident. He is also sensitive to recent changes which place such comparisons on new ground. Since 1958, the majority of states and peoples of the Arab League are located in Africa. With the discovery of oil and the greater ease of communications, the Sahara has become a great inland sea allowing for new paths of interaction among the Middle East, Arab Africa, and Black Africa. Men who once thought Saudi Arabia remote will now have to catch up quickly with development in the desert areas of Libya and Mauritania. Politicians in the Arab East may have a lot to learn from the effective ways in which strong organizational bonds have been formed among workers, peasants, and the salaried middle class in the newer states of North Africa.

Oppermann has fashioned a careful and objective compendium of facts essential for an understanding of the French-Algerian conflict. In describing the failure of the two communities to find the basis for a successful symbiosis, he details Algeria's historical and legal development, its social and economic structure, the growth of political parties, and above all, the political, legal, and international issues of the present uprising. This volume is rich in documentation of bibliographical and legal materials.

◆ MANFRED HALPERN is Associate Professor of Politics in the Program in Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University.

## PALESTINE PROBLEM

A POLITICAL STUDY OF THE ARAB-JEWISH CONFLICT. THE ARAB REFUGEE PROBLEM (A CASE STUDY), by Rony E. Gabbay. Geneva: Librairie E. Droz; Paris: Librairie Minard, 1959. 611 pages.

*Reviewed by Harry N. Howard*

This is Volume XXIX of the *Etudes d'Histoire Economique, Politique et Sociale* at Geneva, and constitutes the author's doctoral dissertation. In view of the plethora of works which have been devoted to the general subject of Arab-Jewish relations, many of them unadulterated propaganda, and of the large number which presume to treat of the Arab refugee problem, the author has approached the problems "with great reluctance." Granted all the complications, that is a very appropriate frame of mind in which to consider all the issues involved.

Mr. Gabbay discusses the refugee problem in practically all its aspects and he properly begins his study with the origins of the problem—the Arabs of Palestine prior to 1948. A second chapter takes up the causes of the Arab flight from Palestine and notes that, whatever the specific responsibilities involved, the fact of the conflict in 1948 was the basic cause. Another chapter treats of the work of the UN Mediator; Count Bernadotte, in connection with this aspect of the broader issues which he had to meet during 1948. While the author treats of political problems and the attempts, especially through the UN Palestine Conciliation Commission, to reach a solution of the Israel-Arab conflict, the bulk of the volume is concerned with the Arab refugee problem—the number of Arab refugees, how the refugees live, their status in the Arab host states, the issues of repatriation and compensation, along with that of resettlement, abandoned Arab properties, and the work of the UNRWA in behalf of the refugees. There are brief reflections on the Suez campaign and some conclusions. The work closes with an excellent bibliography of pertinent source materials and other works which should serve as a guide for further study.

It is not necessary to agree with all that Mr. Gabbay says in order to appreciate his work and to commend it as a welcome addition to the growing library of books dealing with this subject. Generally speaking, he has written with perception and balance and without undue bias. His work is marred by repetition, where material could have been compressed, and there are both foreignisms in his use of English, and dozens of typographical errors. Better maps could also have been used than those he has reproduced. Basically, however, Mr. Gabbay has made a contribution to the study of the Arab refugee problem which should not be neglected by those who seek an understanding of it.

◇ HARRY N. HOWARD, Beirut, Lebanon.

## SHORTER NOTICES

BACK TO BOKHARA, by Fitzroy Maclean. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959. 156 pages. \$3.50.

Fitzroy Maclean, a persistent if not a frequent, visitor to Soviet Central Asia, returned in 1958, twenty years after he first bluffed and hitch-hiked his way into the area. Bokhara was the high spot in both trips and the town which Maclean found decaying during his first visit was "well on the way to becoming an up-to-date Soviet town" by 1958. A regrettably small portion of the book, 10 pages, deals with Bokhara proper. The total impression left by Maclean is of a rather aseptic town, exemplified by the neatly cemented pit which replaces the verminous hole where two other travelers to Bokhara, Stoddart and Conolly, languished before being beheaded a century and a quarter earlier. But Bokhara was only a stop-over, albeit an important one for Maclean, in his tour of Central Asia. Samarkand, Tashkent and Alma Ata were all visited and duly noted in brief but evocative sketches. He chatted briefly with the Grand Mufti of Central Asia in Tashkent, attended an outdoor movie in Samarkand, and sampled Kazak champagne in Alma Ata. Maclean returned to Moscow through the "Deep South"—the Soviet Republic of Georgia—and his observations on this little-

visited area are of considerable interest. One finishes the book with a feeling of regret that there are not 150 more pages and an equal number of Maclean's excellent photographs to enjoy.

◆ EARNEST R. ONEY, Falls Church, Virginia.

**THE SHAH OF PERSIA**, by Lois Gregory. Oprington, Kent: Oprington Press Limited, 1959. 175 pages. No price indicated.

The purpose of this book is not clear. The title would lead one to expect a study not only of the Shah as a personality but also of the monarchy as a Persian institution. If sufficient material were available such a work would be of considerable value.

Except for several statements to the effect that the Shah is responsible for urging reforms, a true enough statement so far as it goes, Gregory has utilized only two public press conferences by the Shah and a collection of statements the Shah has made at various times and on various subjects. There is no connecting thread from chapter to chapter and the book as it stands is a collection of more or less generalized statements mostly on economic subjects.

The truth may as well be revealed immediately: the three chapters on the Iranian oil industry are a nearly verbatim reprint of a publication of the General Department of Publication and Broadcasting, Tehran, entitled "Facts about Iran," no. 19, January 10, 1959 and no. 20, January 20, 1959. Even the misspelling "Khshtaria" for "Khoshtaria" is faithfully reproduced. Another chapter (the chapters are not numbered), "The Planning Department," is a shortened, somewhat edited version of the July 30, 1958 issue of the same publication. This, incidentally, was a speech originally delivered by Abol Hassan Ebtehaj, former Director of the Seven-Year Plan Organization to an unidentified audience. He repeated the same speech in the winter of 1958 to an audience at the University of Tehran. Ebtehaj's original version has much more meat in it than Gregory's truncated rendering.

The last chapter of the book, "Persian Railways," is a near verbatim reprint of issue no. 8, September 20, 1958, of "Facts about Iran,"

and the chapter on "Mineral Wealth of Persia" will be found, with additional detail, in issue no. 4 of the same publication, and so on.

Certainly, the utilization of such material by any investigator is justified. It hardly seems fair, however, for the author to reprint government handouts and present the whole as original work, particularly as any Iranian Embassy will provide the same material free of charge to any interested person.

◆ EARNEST R. ONEY, Falls Church, Virginia.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

### General

*Atlas of the Arab World and the Middle East.* With an introduction by C. F. Beckingham. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960. 42 pages. Maps, photos, and index. \$9.00.

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*Harvest of Journeys*, by Ralph Hammond-Innes (pseud.). New York: Alfred Knopf, 1960. vii + 305 pages. Illustrated. Maps. \$5.00. An account of the author's land and sea journeys over the past ten years in Arabia and the Persian Gulf, Norway, Morocco, the Low Countries, Canada and on the waters of the North Sea and the Bay of Biscay.

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*The Suez Canal Settlement.* A Selection of Documents Relating to the Settlement of the Suez Canal Dispute, the Clearance of the Suez Canal and the Settlement of Disputes between the United Kingdom, France and the United Arab Republic. October 1956-March 1959. Edited by E. Lauterpacht. Published under the auspices of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law. London: Stevens & Sons, Ltd.; New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1960. 82 pages. \$2.50.

*The United Nations Emergency Force, Basic Documents.* A collection prepared by E. Lauterpacht. Published under the auspices of the British Institute of International and Comparative Law. London: Stevens and Sons Ltd.; New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1960. 49 pages. \$2.50.

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### Afghanistan

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## FORTHCOMING BOOKS

- Abmad Shah Durrani: Maker of Modern Afghanistan*, by Ganda Singh. New York: Asia Publishing House. 457 pages. Illustrations. \$9.50.
- Algeria: Rebellion and Revolution*. (Nations of the Modern World Series). New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. \$6.50.
- Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom and the Amarna Period*, by Christiane Desroches Noblecourt. Photographs by F. L. Kenett. (Acanthus History of Sculpture, v. 1). New York: New York Graphic Society. \$6.95.
- The Battle of the Nile*, by Oliver Warner. New York: The Macmillan Company. Illustrated. \$4.50.
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- Common Sense About the Arab World*, by Erskine B. Childers. New York: The Macmillan Company. 175 pages each. \$3.00 each.
- Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, edited by Rafael Patai. New York: Thomas Yoseloff. \$25.00.
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black and white. \$6.95. Includes reproductions not only of artworks regarded as "classical" but also the recent archeological findings.

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*History of the Islamic Peoples*, by Carl Brokelmann. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 606 pages. pap. \$1.95. Treats the area from the beginning of known history up to the twentieth century and a note by the translators brings the account up to the last decade.

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*Other Side of Jordan*, by Harry Ashmore. New York: Norton and Candon. \$3.95.

*Which Way to Mecca, Jack?*, by William Peter Blatty. New York: Bernard Geis. A personal story of a Brooklyn-born Arab who has found himself an alien in this country and equally alien in his native land, to which he returned on a State Department mission.

## ERRATUM

On page 473, Autumn 1959, Vol. 13, No. 4: The author of *The Philosophy of Ibn 'Arabi* is Rom Landau and the book was published by The Macmillan Company in New York, 1959.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Prepared by Sidney Glazer

With contributions from: Ernest Dawn, Sidney Glazer, John A. Lazo, Louis A. Leopold, Bernard Lewis, M. Perlmann, C. Rabin, W. Sands.

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Muslim Spain, the Arab World, Ethiopia, and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of the Soviet Union, Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. An attempt is made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields. The ancient Near East and Byzantium are excluded; so also Zionism, Palestine, and Israel in view of the current, cumulative bibliography on this field: *Palestine and Zionism*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library, New York.

It would be appreciated if authors of articles appropriate to the Bibliography would send reprints or notices of such articles to: Bibliography Editor, The Middle East Journal, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

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- 12391 BABESSIAN, H. (1) "The cathedral of Etchmiadzin" and (2) "Early Christianity in Armenia." *Armenian Rev.*, vol. 12, (F'60) 105-10.
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- 12396 STERN, S. M. "The early Ismā'ilī missionaries in north-west Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania." *B.S.O.A.S.* 23, no. 1 (1960) 56-90. Their efforts were directed, mostly unsuccessfully, at converting members of the ruling class unlike mass propaganda.

(See also: 12430).

## HISTORY AND POLITICS (Modern)

- 12397 "New documents on Russo-Ethiopian relations." (in Russian) *Problemy Vostok.*, no. 1 (1960) 150-63. Translated documents reflecting the friendship existing between the two countries some fifty years ago.
- 12398 "The journal Molla Nasreddin and its influence on political satire in revolutionary Persia, 1905-11." *C. A. Rev.* 8, no. 1, (1960) 14-23. Founded in 1906 in Tiflis by the Azerbaijani Jalil

- Mamed Quli Zadeh, this satirical newspaper quickly attracted attention for the vigor of its attacks on the Russian feudal society and the Tsarist régime. It also dealt with Persian problems, especially revolutionary events in Azerbaijan.
- 12399 "Soviet Muslim literature and the party line." *C. A. Rev.*, vol. 8, no. 1, (1960) 24-32. A survey of major articles published in the six Soviet Muslim republics from March to August 1959.
- 12400 ABDULLAYEV, Z. Z. and AGAKHI, A. M. "New facts about the activities of Russian revolutionaries in Iran at the beginning of the XX century." (in Russian). *Problemy Vostok.*, no. 6, (1959) 139-41. Archival data and the Persian press of the period are the source materials.
- 12401 BARBOUR, NEVILL. "Some unfamiliar aspects of the U. A. R." *R.C.A.J.*, 47 (Ja '60) 35-48. A long-time student of Arab affairs gives his impressions of a visit to the U. A. R. early in 1959. He noted many changes ranging from improved street traffic control to administrative procedures.
- 12402 BOUSTEAD, HUGH. "The Hadhramaut." *R.C.A.J.*, 47 (Ja '60) 5-10. A review of recent history by a British administrator.
- 12403 BREGEL, YU. E. "A document on Turkmen history from the archives of the Khiva Khans." (in Russian). *Problemy Vostok.*, no. 1 (1960) 168-72. The conclusion of this study of a list of honorary titles conferred by the Khiva Khan on 25 Turkmen-Teke leaders in 1865 is that they did not confer the right to hold offices in the Khiva governmental apparatus.
- 12404 COLOMBE, MARCEL. "L'Irak et ses voisins." *Orient*, no. 4, (1959) 13-18. Traces the course skilfully steered through the "reef-strewn" sea of internal and external difficulties steered by General Qasim.
- 12405 COLOMBE, MARCEL. "La mission à Damas du maréchal égyptien Abd al-Hakim Amer." *Orient*, no. 4 (1959) 27-35. Description of the complex and disturbing situation in Syria preceding this mission, "the most important development in the U. A. R. since its creation in February 1958."
- 12406 COLOMBE, MARCEL. "Panorama du trimestre." *Orient*, no. 4, (1959) 7-12. As great power tension over the Middle East relaxed toward the end of 1959, confusion and excitement mounted among the countries of the Near East.
- 12407 DAWN, C. ERNEST. "The amir of Mecca al-Husayn ibn 'Ali and the origin of the Arab revolt." *Proc. Amer. Phil. S.*, 104, (F '60) 11-34. Hashimite participation in the revolt was dictated less by abstract, nationalist considerations than internal political factors. A detailed examination of pertinent documents.
- 12408 EDMONDS, C. J. "The Persian Gulf prelude to the Zimmerman telegram." *R.C.A.J.*, 47, (Ja '60) 58-67. Some developments in Bushire involving the noted German agent Wassmuss tied to the entrance of the U. S. into World War I by the discovery of a German diplomatic code book.
- 12409 GROSVENOR, GILBERT M. "When the President goes abroad." *Natl. Geog. Mag.*, 117, no. 5 (My '60) 588-649. Includes a description and illustrations of President Eisenhower's visit to Ankara, Tehran, Karachi, Kabul, Tunis and Morocco.
- 12410 HOSKINS, HALFORD L. "Operation bootstrap in the United Arab Republic." *Current Hist.* (My '60) 268-272. Demographic pressures in Egypt are increasing. "The answer must be sought mainly in . . . agricultural and industrial" development. Aswan is the focal point.
- 12411 HOTTINGER, ARNOLD. "Persia." *Swiss Rev. of World Aff.*, (O'S9) 15-19; and (N'S9) 11-16.
- 12412 JARGY, SIMON. "Une page d'histoire de la révolution irakienne: le procès Abd al-Salam Aref." *Orient*, no. 4 (1959) 77-93. A close examination of the 'Arif trial has not disclosed the motivation and it remains an "enigmatic episode of the Iraqi revolution."
- 12413 KOBISHCHANOV, YU. M. "The political significance of 'Zara Ya'qob's Studies'." (in Russian) *Problemy Vostok.* no. 1 (1960) 135-43. Zara Ya'qob was an Ethiopian thinker whose philosophical and political writings contain valuable material on conditions in 19th cent. Ethiopia.
- 12414 LUNT, JAMES. "Lady Sale in Kabul, 1842." *Hist. Today*, 10, (Ap '60) 653-63. Details of the First Afghan War from the diary of the wife of a British officer.
- 12415 OGANESYAN, N. O. "The Bolshevik 'Pravda' and Armenian activity (1912-1914)." (in Armenian). *Izv. Akad. Nauk Armyanskoy SSR*, no. 11-12 (1959) 15-26.
- 12416 PAPAZIAN, VAHAN. "The Armenian National Congress in Paris." *Armenian Rev.* 12 (F '60) 56-65. Names the participants in the Congress (February 24 to April 22, 1919) and gives a personal appraisal of their capabilities.
- 12417 PERLMANN, M. "Aswan and after." *Mid. East Aff.* vol. 11, (F '60) 63-6. Brief review of events in Egypt and Iraq early in 1960.
- 12418 RIBAUD, ANDRE. "Où en est le Soudan?" *Orient*, no. 4, (1959) 37-44. Review of the first year in power of General 'Abd.
- 12419 RONDOT, PIERRE. "Les Chiïtes et l'unité de l'Islam d'aujourd'hui." *Orient*, no. 4, (1959) 61-70. Discusses some recent attempts at rapprochement between the two major divisions of Islam. The author is mildly optimistic.
- 12420 RONDOT, PIERRE. "Quelques réflexions sur la démocratie en Orient." *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, 49, no. 1, (1960) 5-9. The author interprets army rule in Near Eastern countries as the advent to power of the middle class.
- 12421 ROSSI, PIERRE. "Le litige frontalier entre l'Irak et l'Iran." *Orient*, no. 4, (1959) 19-26. The author finds the official arguments of Bagdad

- and Tehran "too simple" to explain the more than a century-old quarrel over the Shatt al-Arab.
- 12422 SCARCIA, GIANROBERTO. "Aspetti giuridici e politici dell' recente polemica fra Persia e Unione Sovietica." *Orient Mod.* 39 (Jl'59) 499-513. Juridically, Perso-Soviet relations are regulated by the treaties of 1921 and 1927. Persia, by her military accord with the United States, has declared these to be superseded, or, in the Soviet view, has violated them. The Soviets are shifting from a policy of non-intervention in Persian internal politics to one of intervention.
- 12423 SHAHKHATOUNI, A. "Khalil Pasha's meeting with Aram." *Armenian Rev.* vol. 12 (F'60) 26-32. Some light on the mood and apprehensions of the Armenians in May 1918 just before restoration of national independence.
- 12424 SHWADRAN, BENJAMIN. "The Middle East: pressures within and without." *Current Hist.* (My'60) 257-261. While the Western objectives "are clear enough, the policies to achieve them have not been successfully formulated or applied. . . ." "Soviet objectives . . . are negative . . . their policies followed the lines of their objectives."
- 12425 SHWADRAN, BENJAMIN. "The power struggle in Iraq." *Mid. East Aff.* vol. 11, (F'60) 38-63. Major events, prominent personalities, and ideology of the 1958 revolution.
- 12426 TEUTSCH, HANS. "Algeria." *Swiss Rev. of World Aff.* (Mr'60) 3-7.
- 12427 TEUTSCH, HANS. "Morocco today." *Swiss Rev. of World Aff.* (D'59) 11-15; and (Ja'60) 4-8.
- 12428 TEUTSCH, HANS. "Tunisia." *Swiss Rev. of World Aff.* (Ja'60) 8-11; and (F'60) 15-20.
- 12429 TOTOMIANTZ, VAHAN. "Role of the Armenians in world civilization." *Armenian Rev.* 12, (F'60) 72-84. The Armenians in Turkey, Egypt, the Balkans, Venice, and Russia.
- 12430 TUNCDEK, NECDET. "Eine Übersicht über die Geschichte der Siedlungsgeographie im Gebiet von Ekisehir." *Rev. Geog. Inst.* (Istanbul), no. 5 (1959) 123-37. A history of the settlement of this Turkish city whose beginnings date back to pre-historic times.
- 12431 VAYNBERG, B. I. "On the history of Turkmen settlements in 19th century Khorezm." (in Russian). *Sov. Etnografiya* no. 5, (1959) 31-45. Recent field trips to the area have uncovered facts testifying to the existence of permanent dwellings among the Turkmen.
- 12432 VON STACKLEBERG, G. A. "Changing views on Arab unification." *Bull. Inst. for the Study of the USSR* (Munich) 7, (Mr'60) 3-12. Analysis of the views of Soviet and local party leaders in Arab countries showing that the Soviet attitude toward Arab unity is not predetermined by fixed principles. The decisive factor is how to insure political influence for possible communization of the Arab world.
- 12433 YEGANYAN, G. M. "The National Liberation Movement in Iranian Azerbaijan 1917-1920." (in Russian). *Izv. Akad. Nauk Armyanskoy SSR*, no. 11-12 (1959) 49-60.
- (See also: 12439, 12440, 12486.)
- ### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
- 12434 "Irrigation in Central Asia, I." *C. A. Rev.* 8, no. 1 (1960) 44-51. A general description of water resources and inter-republican irrigation networks.
- 12435 "Labor unions in the Middle East." *Mid. East Aff.* 11, (Mr'60) 88-93. Summary of factual data culled from official publications.
- 12436 AMIN, SAMIR. "Le financement des investissements dans la province égyptienne de la R. A. U." *L'Egypte Contemp.* 50 (Jl'59) 5-29.
- 12437 GODARD JEAN. "État des recherches pétrolières en Libye." *Orient*, no. 4 (1959) 71-5. It is almost certain that 1960 will be the year of Libyan oil.
- 12438 AL-MURSHIDI, AHMAD. "The foreign trade of the Arab countries." (in Arabic) *L'Egypte Contemp.* 21-95. Imports and exports in 1938, 1948, and 1952-1957.
- 12439 LENCZOWSKI, GEORGE. "Oil in the Middle East." *Current Hist.* (My'60) 262-7. The "oil" countries are vacillating between the temptation to take some drastic unilateral action and the desire to assure the continuity of oil operations for understandable economic reasons.
- 12440 LINDBERG, JOHN. "Technical and economic aid to the Middle East." *Current Hist.* (My'60) 285-89. Critical article on United States aid, which the author states has "only served to raise false hopes."
- 12441 MUŞTAFA, Y. A. "Commercial bank activities in Egypt." (in Arabic) *L'Egypte Contemp.* 50 (O'59) 45-63. Seeks to define the role of commercial banks in building the economy of Egypt.
- 12442 PRANGER, ROBERT J. "Political and economic balance in Iran." *Current Hist.* (My'60) 278-84. Review of the budgetary, industrial, and agricultural progress.
- 12443 REMBA, ODED. "The Middle East in 1959—an economic survey." *Mid. East Aff.* 11 (Mr'60) 74-87. "The direction and rate of progress were determined in practically all major cases by the political factors." The year's developments indicate that the Middle Eastern countries "are becoming less, rather than more, complementary. The area made no significant headway in regional economic co-operation."
- 12444 ROZALIYEV, YU. N. "The character and role of major national capital in Turkey." (in Russian) *Problemy Vostok.*, no. 1 (1960) 99-108. Discusses the postwar emergence of monopoly capital, concentrating on the Central Bank. Capitalist competition is mounting, but impoverishment of the working class continues.
- 12445 TANOGLU, ALI. "Development of water power in Turkey." *Rev. Geog. Inst.* (Istanbul),

- no. 5 (1959) 3-22. Hydro-electric power is becoming increasingly important due to the comparative scantiness of fuel reserves. The country is in a favorable position to exploit its water resources.
- 12446 TÜMERTEKİN, EROL. "The structure of agriculture in Turkey." *Rev. Geog. Inst. (Istanbul)*, no. 5 (1959) 77-93. More than 80% of the population is engaged in agriculture while 70% of the national income and 90% of the exports are based on agricultural products.

## SOCIAL CONDITIONS

- 12447 "The peoples of Central Asia—the Soviet period since 1945." *C. A. Rev.* 8, no. 1 (1960) 5-13. The school system has always been the chief means of imposing Soviet culture, especially in the rural areas.
- 12448 BEN SALEM, M. "Education sanitaire et sociale de la population." *I.B.L.A.* 22, no. 4 (1959) 419-439. Methods used to inculcate hygienic practices in Tunisia.
- 12449 CALLENS, M. "Education du milieu rural." *I.B.L.A.* 22, no. 4, (1959) 401-17. General observations of the difficulties involved in educating the rural masses of Tunisians.
- 12450 CARRET, JACQUES. "Le particularisme ibadite au Mzab." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 49, no. 1 (1960) 38-46. Notes on this Algerian Muslim sect, which was exempted from the provision of the law of Feb. 4, 1959 relative to marriage.
- 12451 CHURAKOV, M. V. "Amin ar-Rihānī's 'New History of the Najd'" (in Russian). *Sov. Etnografiya*, no. 1 (1960) 83-98. A detailed examination of Rihānī's work (1928) as a source for the ethnology of Central Arabia.
- 12452 GAFFERBERG, E. G. "A trip to the Baluchis of Turkmenistan in 1958." (in Russian). *Sov. Etnografiya* no. 1 (1960) 112-25. Illustrated account of a field trip to several Baluchi collective farms in the Turkmen SSR. These Baluchi are immigrants from Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan.
- 12453 GOICHON, A. M. "Oeuvres de bienfaisance et oeuvres sociales en Syrie." (suite) *Orient*, no. 4, (1959) 95-128.
- 12454 HAMDEN, G. "The growth and functional structure of Khartoum." *Geog. Rev.* 50 (Jan'60) 21-40. Although the site of Khartoum has been occupied since ancient times, the present city dates back to 1820 when Muhammad 'Alī founded it as a permanent military camp.
- 12455 KARMSHEVA, B. KH. "A 'Turkish' ethnographic group among the Uzbeks." (in Russian). *Sov. Etnografiya*, no. 1 (1960) 3-22. The Uzbek population is divided into two main groups: (1) traditionally settled and rural elements (called Sarts) and (2) the semi-nomads, a heterogeneous population made up of two markedly different groups (a) descendants of Dashi-Kipchak tribes (b) descendants of the earlier Turko-Mongol migrants to Central Asia described in this article.
- 12456 KERR, MALCOLM. "Rashid Ridā and Islamic legal reform." *Muslim World* 50 (Apr'60) 99-108. Examines the scholar's attempts to reform and revive the *Shari'ah* on the basis of a utilitarian methodology.
- 12457 LEBERT, A. "La formation professionnelle des adultes dans l'Est algérien." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 49, no. 1 (1960) 55-60. Some problems in technical education.
- 12458 LELONG, MICHEL. "La lutte contre l'analphabétisme en Tunisie." *I.B.L.A.* 22, no. 4 (1959) 393-400. Describes some of the initial steps taken to cope with the vast problem of illiteracy, which will require a substantial amount of international support.
- 12459 MOUTON, GEORGES G. "Le développement communautaire, espérance des pays insuffisamment développés." *I.B.L.A.* 22, no. 4 (1959) 441-73. A United Nations expert defines the aims and principles—social and economic—of community development, with an account of what is now being done in Tunisia.
- 12460 SĀLIM, A. M. "Justice and legislation in Saudi Arabia." (in Arabic) *L'Egypte Contemp.* 50 (O'59) 5-44. The text of pertinent legislation.
- 12461 TANOGLU, ALI. "Die Verteilung der Bevölkerung in der Türkei." *Rev. Geog. Inst. (Istanbul)* detailed commentary.

(See also 12431.)

## SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY, QUR'ĀN, AND THEOLOGY

- 12462 BAGLEY, F. R. C. "The Azhar and Shi'ism." *Muslim World* 50, (Apr'60) 122-9. The author notes that the Azhar began its existence as a Shi'ah (Ismā'ili) institution.
- 12463 CERULLI, E. "Avicenne et Laurent de Médicis." *Studia Islamica*, no. 11 (1959) 5-27. Detailed analysis of a passage in Lorenzo di Medici's poem *L'Altercazione*.
- 12464 DODGE, BAYARD. "The Fātimid hierarchy and exegesis." *Muslim World* 50 (Apr'60) 130-41. A study of the propaganda organization supported by the Fātimid caliphs and their characteristic patterns of exegesis.
- 12465 AL-FARŪQI, ISMĀ'IL R. "On the ethics of the Brethren of Purity." *Muslim World* 50 (Apr'60) 109-21.
- 12466 GOITEIN, S. D. "Muhammad's inspiration by Judaism." *J. Jew. Stud.* (London) 9, no. 3-4, (1958) 149-62. A study of "how, and how far, Muhammad was inspired" during his preaching in Mecca by Jews and Judaism.
- 12467 JEFFERY, ARTHUR. "Ibn al-'Arabī's *Shajarat al-kawn*." *Studia Islamica*, no. 11 (1959) 113-60. Conclusion of the translation.
- 12468 VAJDA, G. "A propos de la perpétuité de la rétribution d'outre tombe en théologie musulmane." *Studia Islamica*, no. 11 (1959) 29-38. Translation of a passage from the *Tibṛān maqālāt* of David b. Marwān al-Muqammis (900), an Arabic-speaking Jewish theologian.



## LANGUAGE

- 12469 ASHNIN, F. D. "Etymology of Turkic demonstrative adjectives." *Problemy Vostok*, no. 6 (1959) 145-8.
- 12470 ASHNIN, F. D. "Four Turkish phrases." (in Russian). *Voprosy Yazykoznaniiya*, no. 2 (1960) 80-5. Discussion of: (1) *Şu ev benim bu ev benim*, (2) *Şurasi benim burasi benim*, (3) *Orali olmamak*, (4) *Şunun şurası*.
- 12471 CHOWDHURY, M. "The language problem in East Pakistan." *IJAL* 26 no. 3, 64-78.
- 12472 FERGUSON, C. A. and GUMPERZ, J. J. "Linguistic diversity in South Asia" *IJAL* 26 no. 3, 1-18.
- 12473 ISHKHANYAN, R. A. "The category of voice in modern Armenian." (in Russian). *Izv. Akad. Nauk Armyanskoy SSR*, no. 11-12 (1959) 73-86.

## LITERATURE

- 12474 "The 1100th anniversary of the birth of Rudaki." *C. A. Rev.* 8, no. 1 (1960) 33-7. An interesting account of some evidence indicating that, contrary to tradition, the poet was not born blind, but was blinded several years before his death as a result of a political disgrace.
- 12475 BIRNBAUM, ELEAZAR. "The date of 'Alī's Turkish Meşnevī Mihr ü Māh." *B.S.O.A.S.* 23, no. 1 (1960) 138-9.
- 12476 DMITRIYEVA, L. V. "Leningrad manuscripts of 'Ashiq pasha's *Gharibnameh*." (in Russian) *Problemy Vostok*, no. 1 (1960) 176-8. Six MSS of the *Gharibnameh* are found in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences USSR.
- 12477 FERID-GHAZI, M'HAMMED. "La littérature tunisienne contemporaine." *Orient*, no. 4 (1959) 131-97. Translated excerpts with an introduction and notes.
- 12478 GABRIELI, FRANCESCO. "Commemorazione di Ahmed Shawqi." *Oriente Mod.* 30 (Je'59) 486-97. Shawqi had nothing new to say in the field of art, no original vision of the world to propose, no private drama to express; he was rather the latest of those masters of word and verse in whom the Arab literary tradition is so rich.
- 12479 GOITEIN, S. D. "The biography of Rabbi Judah Ha-Levi in the light of the Cairo Geniza documents." *Amer. Acad. Jew. Research* (N. Y.), 28 (1959) 41-56. A discussion of some 20 Arabic documents bearing on the life of a noted Hebrew poet in a Muslim environment.
- 12480 GOITEIN, S. D. "Maimonides as chief justice." *Jew. Quart. R.* 49, (Ja'59) 191-204. The newly edited Arabic originals of Maimonides' *Responsa* are instructive both for the study of Arabic and for the milieu of his time.
- 12481 KARAHAN, A. "Fuzûlî, poète en trois langues." *Studia Islamica*, no. 11 (1959) 93-111. An analysis of the poetry of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Fuzûlî (1480?-1556) who composed

with equal brilliance in Turkish, Arabic and Persian.

- 12482 MORGENSTIERNE, GEORG. "Khushhal Khan—the national poet of the Afghans." *R.C.A.J.*, no. 47 (Ja'60) 49-57. An interesting account of this 17th century Afghan who, unlike most Oriental poets, revealed much about his life in his works.
- 12483 ROSSE, PIERRE. "Impression sur la poésie d'Irak." *Orient*, no. 4 (1959) 199-212. Excerpts from four poets who have broken with classical tradition.
- 12484 SAHAKIAN, A. "Korun's biography of Mashtotz." *Armenian Rev.* vol. 12, (F'60) 52-5. Mashtotz invented the Armenian alphabet between 405 and 407 A. D. Korun is regarded as the first author of an Armenian book.
- 12485 ZAKARYAN, A. G. "Aksel' Bakunts and problems in literature." (in Armenian) *Izv. Akad. Nauk Armyanskoy SSR*, no. 11-12 (1959) 27-34. (See also 12399.)

## BIOGRAPHY

- 12486 RAYMOND, JOHN. "Cromer." *Hist. Today* 10 (Mr, Ap'60) 180-6, 240-6. Biographical sketch of this "maker of modern Egypt" who ranks as the archetype of the British proconsul.
- 12487 YAGUBI, A. "Dr. Tagi Erani." (in Russian) *Problemy Vostok*, no. 1 (1960) 241-3. Biographical sketch of this Persian philologist and Marxist (1902-1940).

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- 12488 "Afghanistan." *C. A. Rev.* 8, no. 1 (1960) 62-8. Review of Soviet writings since January, 1958.
- 12489 INAYATULLAH, M. "Reinhart Dozy (1820-1883)." *J. Pakistan Hist. S.* 8 (Ja'60) 19-24. A review of the major works of the noted Dutch orientalist.
- 12490 "Persia." *C. A. Rev.* 8, no. 1 (1960) 69-79. Soviet publications in 1958-1959 on the Persian economy, foreign relations, ethnography, and literature.
- 12491 SHUKMAN, ANN. "Muslim republics of the U.S.S.R." *R.C.A.J.* 47, (Ja'60) 11-21. A survey of new Soviet books on Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Turkestan, Persia, and Afghanistan.

## BOOK REVIEWS

- 12492 *Charisteria orientalia*. *Archiv. O.* 27, no. 3 (1959) 504-6. (Jan Marek). Of interest to Iranologists, Turkologists, and Islamists.
- 12493 *Le parti communiste marocain*. *Problemy Vostok*, no. 6 (1959) 175. (N. S. Lutskaia). The book is a collection of documents from 1949 to 1958.
- 12494 ALWAN, MOHAMMED. *Algeria before the United Nations*. *Mid. East Aff.* 11 (F'60) 67. (Benjamin Rivlin). "Given the nature of the



- United Nations, it is most implausible that its role in the Algeria question should be that of finding a solution. Yet the author of this book has expected just that."
- 12495 ARBERRY, A. J. *Classical Persian literature*. Archiv O. 27, no. 3, (1959) 704-7. (Jan Rypka).
- 12496 Basetti-Sani, Giulio. *Muhammad et Saint François*. Muslim World, 50 (Ap'60) 148-9. (Harry G. Dorman).
- 12497 BOLTON, A. R. C. *Soviet Middle East bibliography*. B.S.O.A.S. 23, no. 1 (1960) 203. (D. M. Lang).
- 12498 BRUNSCHVIG, R. and VON GRUNEBaum, G. E., eds. *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam*. Muslim World 50 (Ap'60) 142-3. (W. C. Smith). Those interested in speculating about a decline in Islamic civilization will find in this volume "not answers to their questions so much as material partly organized to confront and stimulate any answerer."
- 12499 BUDDRUSS, GEORG. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Pāṣai-Dialekte*. B.S.O.A.S. 23, no. 1 (1960) 153-4. (G. Morgenstierne). Pashai is the most important Indo-Aryan language of Afghanistan.
- 12500 CAROL, OLAF. *The Pāṣais, 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957*. B.S.O.A.S. 23, no. 1 (1960) 154. (D. N. Mackenzie).
- 12501 CERULLI, ENRICO. *Somalia, II*. B.S.O.A.S. 23, no. 1 (1960) 191. (Edward Ullendorff). Principally concerned with law, ethnography, language of the Hawiyya tribe.
- 12502 CLARK, MICHAEL. *Algeria in turmoil: A history of the rebellion*. Amer. Polit. Sci. Rev. 54, no. 1 (Mr'60) 209-11. (Bernard E. Brown). "Clark emerges as . . . friend and defender of the much maligned French settlers . . ."
- 12503 FIEY, J. M. *Mossoul chrétienne*. Orient, no. 4 (1959) 246.
- 12504 FISHER, SYDNEY NETTLETON. *The Middle East*. Muslim World 50, (Ap'60) 143-4. (E. E. Calverley). Recommended for all "who need to know the facts and attitudes of the peoples of the area."
- 12505 FAULMIER, JEAN, ed. *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*. Orient, no. 4, (1959) 246-7. A "classic" trip; the observations of the gifted author have permanent value.
- 12506 GONÇALVES, JOSÉ JULIO. *O mundo árabe-islâmico e o ultramar português*. Internat. Aff. 36 (Ap'60) 256-7. (Nevill Barbour). "A valuable . . . political study."
- 12507 GULYAMOV, YA. G. *A history of irrigation in Khorezm from antiquity to modern times*. (in Russian). Sov. Etnografiya, no. 5 (1959) 181-3. (B. Andrianov). The author is an Uzbek archeologist.
- 12508 HAMMERTON, THOMAS. *Tunisia unveiled*. Internat. Aff. 36 (Ap'60) 259. (Nevill Barbour). "A very readable and informative book."
- 12509 HARRIS, GEORGE L., ed. *Iraq*. Muslim World 50 (Ap'60) 145-6. (Frances E. Roberds). A study of "permanent value."
- 12510 HASLIP, JOAN. *The sultan: the life of Abdul Hamid*. J. Mod. Hist. 31 (D'59) 381-2. (Arthur Leon Horniker).
- 12511 HAY, SIR RUPERT. *The Persian Gulf states*. R.C.A.J. 47 (Ja'60) 76-7. (John Cook). "Contains many facts . . . very hard to find anywhere else." Internat. Aff. 36 (Ap'60) 260. (S. H. Longrigg). "A well-arranged assortment of accurate and objective information on most aspects of these territories and their peoples and governments."
- 12512 HITTI, PHILIP K. *Syria: a short history*. Internat. Aff. 36 (Ap'60) 261. "Able condensed [version of the original] by Dr. Harry Hazard."
- 12513 HOPKINS, F. J. P. *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*. B.S.O.A.S. 23, no. 1 (1960) 142-4. (J. D. Latham); Muslim World 50 (Ap'60) 146. (Rom Landau). "Not entirely irrelevant to problems of this moment . . . will be appreciated by serious students of Maghrebi history."
- 12514 HORST, HERIBERT. *Timur and Hoşa 'Ali: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Safawiden*. B.S.O.A.S. 23, no. 1 (1960) 201. (A. K. S. Lambton). "A careful piece of work which adds to our knowledge of the early history of the Safavid dynasty."
- 12515 HOURANI, GEORGE F., ed. *K. Faṣl al-Maqāl (of Ibn Rushd)*. Muslim World 50 (Ap'60) 147-8. (Aziz Suryal Atiya).
- 12516 IBN-KHALDUN. *Šifā' as-sā'il li-taḍdīb al-masā'il*. Oriente Mod. 39 (Ag-S'59) 698. (Martino Mario Moreno).
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Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. *irreg* Orientalisches Institut der Universität Wien, Hanuschgasse 3/II, Vienna I, Austria.

World Today. UK, £1 5s; U.S., \$5; single issue 2s, 45¢. *m* Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, St. James' Square, London, S.W.1; 345 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

A., Asian, Asiatic, asiatique

Acad., Academy

Afr., African, Afrique, etc.

fr.,frican, Afrique, etc.

Amer., American

Archeol., Archaeological, Archéologique

B., Bulletin

C., Central

Cent., Century

Contemp., Contemporary, etc.

Cult., Culture

D., Deutsch

Dept., Department

East., Eastern

Econ., Economic, économique

For., Foreign

G., Gesellschaft

Geog., Geographical, géographique, etc.

Gt. Brit., Great Britain

Hist., Historical, historique, etc.

Illust., Illustrated

Inst., Institute

Internat., International

J., Journal

L., Literature, etc.

M., Morgenländisch, etc.

Mag., Magazine

Mid., Middle

Mod., Modern, moderno, etc.

Mus., Museum, musée

Natl., National

Nr., Near

Numis., Numismatic, numismatique

O., Oriental, oriente, etc.

Pal., Palestine

Phil., Philosophical

Philol., Philological, Philologique

Polit., Political, Politique

Proceed., Proceedings

Quart., Quarterly

R., Royal

Res., Research

Rev., Review, revue

Riv., Rivista

S., School

Soc., Society, société

Stud., Studies

Trans., Transactions

U.S., United States

USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics

Univ., University, université

Z., Zeitschrift, Zeitung

*Arabic*

K., Kitab, etc.

Maj., Majallah, etc.

*Russian, Polish, etc.*

Akad., Akademii

Fil., Filosofi

Inst., Institut

Ist., Istori

Izvest., Izvestia

Lit., Literaturi

Orient., Orientalni

Ser., Seriya

Sov., Sovetskoye

Uchon., Uchoniye

Vostok., Vostokovedenia

Yaz., Yazika

Zap., Zapiska

*Turkish*

Fak., Fakülte

Univ., Üniversite



## Communications

*With the last issue, the JOURNAL inaugurated a new section to replace the former "Reader's Commentary." Letters of comment on previous articles continue to be welcome, and, in addition, communications on other information of interest will be printed as space is available.*

Dear Sir:

With reference to Professor Kirk's reply [ME/ Spring 1960] to my letter on the Buraimi affair, it would seem that we are in complete agreement to "let the facts speak for themselves." But, as we are not likely to be in agreement about the facts themselves, there is nothing to be gained by continuing the argument.

H. ST. J. B. PHILBY  
Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

\* \* \*

Dear Sir:

Rabbi Unger of the American Zionist Council complains to you [ME/ Spring 1960] that in *Prelude to Israel* I have misrepresented the goals of political Zionism in asserting that the movement ultimately aims at 1) the establishment of an "Eretz Israel" defined by Zionists as inclusive of southern Lebanon and Jordan, and 2) the "ingathering" of all Jews within Israel.

Rabbi Unger is certainly entitled to his interpretation of Zionist goals, to his apparent belief in a small Israel which will serve as a source of inspiration to a permanently scattered world Jewry. But it must be noted that more authoritative Zionist voices have spoken in behalf of "Greater Israel" and the "reestablishment" of the Jewish people there. Mr. Ben Gurion is indelibly on record as a champion of the "ingathering" and Nahum Goldmann has asserted that eventually all Jews should migrate to Israel. The establishment of "Eretz Israel" is a touchier point because of its international implications. Yet the Herut Party

does not hesitate to underwrite it openly, and perhaps others agree in silence. At the 1919 Peace Conference the Zionists announced their territorial ambitions, and there has not been sufficient renunciation of that platform to warrant belief that it has been changed. The myth which Rabbi Unger is trying to uphold may help to make Zionism more palatable to American Jews, but examination reveals it to be unfounded.

But, of course, objective comment is often an unwanted guest in partisan circles. As the *London Economist* remarked in its review of my book, *Zionists* "... make the sequel to some adverse judgment a spate of ... polemics about bias." If investigators should keep this in mind, the Zionists should consider another statement in the same review: "The loser is Israel, for the result has been a stifling of the kind of comment that is a tonic for any nation's health."

ALAN R. TAYLOR  
Howard University  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I would appreciate it if you could kindly permit me to comment in some brief way on Dr. Peretz's article [ME/ Winter 1960] on "Israel's Fourth Parliamentary Elections" or more precisely on that section which dealt with the Arab vote (pp. 19-22). On page 19 the author speaks of "large landowners." It is a well-known fact that never since Israel's establishment had there been any "large landowners" among its 250,000 Arab inhabitants. On p. 19 the author also speaks about "the little Triangle," obviously one area, as being

"two Moslem areas." The truth is that the "little Triangle" is one Moslem inhabited area, not two. On p. 20 the author mentions the "military governor who is even more powerful than the large landlords", "... he who grants or withholds the military permit required to travel outside the area." It seems strange that a year after the permit necessity has been abolished, the author still speaks of it as if it were a fact. The military governor, further, never has had "an important say in the distribution of government subsidies or distribution of work" as the author writes on page 20. On the following page Dr. Peretz writes that "The choice of Mapai Arabs was assisted by the military government authorities," without trying to prove this statement or substantiate it by facts. Further on the same page he speaks of "For unexplained reasons they (the former Mapai-backed M.P.'s) did not receive Mapai support for the fourth Knesset . . ." In Israel the reason for this was well known, although to the author it was unknown, it had been published in articles and interviews. The

statement that "Nasser's picture can be found in many Arab homes . . ." needs proof, particularly as it was made by an author who for some years has not himself entered any Israeli Arab home.

On page 22 the author writes that among Mapai Arabs "... are several respected for their leadership in their community," a statement which is not substantiated by names or proof and which is strongly doubted by experts. On the same page we find the statement that "religious law which governs personal status matters such as marriage and divorce prevents intermarriage between Arabs and Jews." The author is not quite well versed in Sharia law, otherwise he would have been familiar with the personal status law in Islam which, of course, permits a Moslem to marry a Jew or a Christian and the wife may retain her former religion. Any Kadi in Israel would sanction a marriage between a Moslem man and a Jewish woman.

GIDEON WEIGERT  
Jerusalem, Israel

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